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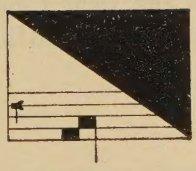
A Journal of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor



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The 1954-1955 bibliography is postponed to the next issue, and will be so postponed every year if necessary. This because the compilation of the annual bibliograhpy has in the past been the chief reason for delay in the publication of the issue bearing it.

* Arranged more or less chronologically.

TEN YEARS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY
1945-1955

Nothing from the domain of fine arts has perhaps been so neglected in modern culture as music of the pre-seventeenth century Europe. While literature, architecture, the graphic and plastic and the minor arts have for some generations been investigated on a scale to have become part and substance of our culture, music of the said period had until recently remained practically unknown behind intervening centuries and their massive musical development. Time and differing tastes let the musical treasures of several great epochs be forgotten. When generations and centuries later a few men — pathfinders — began efforts to enter the realm of mediaeval and renaissance music, not only a ready understanding of the musical language and ideas was lacking, but in the case of the Middle Ages even an ability to decipher the very signes (notation) in which the music was written down! And so an art and science had and are having to be developed for the collection and right transcription and editing of texts, musical and theoretical, as also for the performance of the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The American Institute of Musicology was conceived of a sense of need for an organization that would distinterestedly devote itself with the highest aims and standards to the advancement in our culture of early European music. It was also conceived of the conviction that the musical art and science of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance have by now perhaps the richest and surely the freshest contribution to make to modern culture in general and to our musical pleasure in particular. The several epochs that have given us a Bayeux tapestry or a Piviale of Pienza, a church of St. Gilles or San Michele of Pavia or a Schwarzrheindorf, the stained glass and sculpture of a Chartres cathedral as well as its architecture, the mediaeval carvings of an Exeter Cathedral, the frescos of an Arena Chapel, a Pietà of Avignon or an Annunciation of the first room at the Uffizi, the great Dome in Florence or the doors of the Baptistry, a Rucellai palace, the frescos of Sansepolcro, the miniatures of an Heures d'Etienne Chevalier, the poetry of the Laurenzian court and the paintings of the monk of St. Mark — to mention but a few cases at random and not to go beyond the 15th century — have also left us works in the domain of music

that often measure very well up to, and sometimes appear in suggestive parallels with, the rest. This is a fact as yet not generally grasped by even the very cultivated; and this simply because while masterpieces and lesser works in the other arts have long been available to them, those of music from the same periods are known even to the specialist but incompletely and imperfectly, since the works in question have not been brought to light in an appreciable body.

And so, the basic objective of the American Institute of Musicology was to set up a competent, expert organization for the collection, edition and publication of the musical works and sources. A specific and cherished extension of the objective has been to expand facilities and to stimulate new endeavors in serious work in the field in our higher education. In the first issue of the organ of the Institute, Dr. Armen Carapetyan wrote editorially that one of the aspirations of the Institute through its periodical was "the advancement of musical history as an integral part of the history of culture in general, and the advancement of its place in cultivated life and in the program of humanistic studies in our universities and colleges." This has since been an aim of the entire range of the Institute's activity. But the right performance, too, of the music in question has been no less an aspiration of the Institute's work. Here, the original plans included an organization for the performance of the music, and in fact in 1947 Dr. Carapetyan formed a choir of the best ecclesiastical singers in Rome, and regular and rigorous work was started. The group was disbanded, despite otherwise very successfull work, because the hope of educating singers of the Italian tradition to the requirements of polyphonic music proved impossible of realization. At the first opportunity presented by the right circumstances, the plan will be resumed. In the meantime the Institute has tried to exert what influence it might through its publications and otherwise towards more and better performance of mediaeval and renaissance music.

The American Institute of Musicology [1] was founded in 1944 at Cambridge, Massachusetts by Armen Carapetyan, Ph. D. (Harvard), and has since been under his direction. The manifest activity of the Institute began in 1945. In its early stage (until the end of 1949) the Institute had an Advisory Board which embraced the following names:

Warren D. Allen (Stanford University), Willi Apel (now of Indiana University), Manfred F. Bukofzer (University of California)), Archibald

[1] Until 1946 as Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music. Actually, the Middle Ages were included from the first, and now the "Baroque" period, in so far as bearing upon the Renaissance, is not excluded.

T. Davison (Harvard University), George S. Dickinson (Vassar College), Leonard Ellinwood (Library of Congress), Charles Warren Fox (University of Rochester), Otto Gombosi †, Donald J. Grout (Cornell University), Otto Kinkeldey (then Harvard University), Ralph Kirkpatrick (Yale University), Paul Henry Lang (Columbia University), Hugo Leichtentritt †, Dragan Plamenac (now University of Illinois), Gustave Reese (New York University), Curt Sachs (New York University), Oliver Strunk (Princeton University), Charles van den Borren (Brussells, Belgium), Jacques Handschin (University of Basel, Switzerland), Knud Jeppesen (Now University of Aarhus, Denmark), Yvonne Rokseth †, Albert Smijers (University of Utrecht, Holland), E. J. Wellesz (Oxford University, England).

In 1946, at the first possible moment after the war, the active headquarters of the Institute was transferred to Europe, close to the manuscript sources, with offices in Rome and during the first year at the American Academy — thanks to the kind interest of Charles R. Morrey, then the Cultural Attaché at the American Embassey and of Mr. L. Roberts, the Director of the Academy [2]. There the Institute participated in the inauguration, after the war, of the Academy by holding in 1947 a Summer Session of Advanced Courses in Mediaeval and Renaissance music history. A second summer session was held in Florence, at the celebrated Torre di Bellosguardo (a villa of mediaeval origin and once owned by Dante's "first friend" Guido Cavalcanti). Summer Sessions under the best European specialists were in the original plan of the Institute, designed particularly for the benefit of American graduate and post graduate students. But the number of qualified students from America during the first two sessions did not seem to justify continuation. However, it is possible that such sessions — or even winter sessions — be held in the future for all qualified comers, European as well as American, especially if the objective of a permanent plant in Europe will be reached.

In the meantime a special care of the Institute has been to foster the work of young historians of merit. Of these a number have had outlet for their first or earliest works through publications of the Institute and have since very considerably and deservedly advanced in the field. In this, reference to the Institute by professors at universities on both sides of the Atlantic where serious historical work is done has proved fruitful.

[2] An office was held at Harvard Square, Cambridge, until 1954. As needs have arisen, the Institute has held temporary offices in France, Spain, Holland, Southwestern United States. Rome will remain the regular headquarters. A distributing office is established in Dallas, Texas, where most of the Institute's printed stock is kept.

PUBLICATIONS

The publications of the Institute aim at the highest possible quality of scholarship and at a very high quality in physical appearance. This is only right with works whose preparation requires years of arduous work in search for the sources, their transcription and collation, preparation, collateral research, printing and engraving, and which become publications as definitive as humanly possible and therefore reference works as well as material (in the case of musical compositions) for practical use. In this work the Institute has the collaboration of specialists, mostly professors, from among the best in the field in America, Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Israel, Switzerland.

The following are the several series published by the Institute:

1. CMM (*Corpus Mensurablis Musicae*): The musical monuments, so to speak, of the epochs dealt with by the Institute. Only complete collected works of a composer or a group of composers are published, and this only after every fragment of extant material has been collected (by photography) transcribed, collated. All variants and other critical material are accounted for in the critical notes of the edition. On the other hand, the musical transcriptions are designed to be clear and practical for performance.

2. CSM (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*): The theoretical treatises. These are prepared in exactly the same method as with CMM, except that here paleographical and philological problems may considerably differ in nature and proportion. The treatises of the Middle Ages are almost all of them in Latin, those from the late 15th century on are often in the vulgate. In all cases an introductory part in English is included.

3. MSD (*Musicological Studies and Documents*): Modern studies in various subjects in mediaeval and renaissance music history, and any source material that does not strictly fall under either of the two aforesaid series.

4. MISC (*Miscellanea*): All material, practical and theoretical, that may not logically be classified in any of the above series.

5. MD (*Musica Disciplina*): The organ of the Institute. The only periodical of its kind, confined to mediaeval and renaissance subjects and limited to strictly research articles, inventories (with critical study and concordances) of the important manuscript sources, and the kind. The publication is abundantly, if not lavishly, illustrated with examples, facsimiles, transcriptions, other illustrative pages, and has become an indespensable instrument of further research as well as a standard work of reference.

WORKS PRINTED [3]

At the moment of writing (Spring, 1955) the following works are in print:

CMM 1: Guillaume Dufay, *Opera omnia* (in 6 vols.) ed. G. de Van - H. Besseler. I: All the motets (de Van); II: 2 masses (de Van), to which are to be added 3 masses (Besseler); III: 4 masses (Besseler) [4].

CMM 2: Guillaume de Machaut, *The Mass,* ed. G. de Van.

CMM 3: Adriano Willaert, *Opera omnia* (in 15 vols.) ed. H. Zenck - W. Gerstenberg. I: Motets (4 v.); II: Motets (4 v.); III: Motets (4 v.); IV: Motets (6 v.) all by Zenck.

CMM 4: Jacobus Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia* (very large edition, number of volumes not yet determined) ed. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers. I: 4 masses; II: The 4 books of Psalms (Souterliedekens).

CMM 5: Antoine Brumel, *Opera omnia* (in about 5 volumes) ed. Armen Carapetyan. I/1.

CMM 6: Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia* (in 12 vols.) ed. J. Schmidt-Görg. I: 4 masses; II: 4 masses.

CMM 7: Jacobus Barbireau, *Opera omnia* (in 2 vols.) ed. Bernhard Meier. I: all the masses.

CMM 8: The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy (in 5 vols.) ed. Nino Pirrotta. I: Of the Florentines, Giovanni, Bartolomeo, Gherardello.

CSM 1: Iohannes of Affligem, *De Musica cum Tonario,* ed. Jos. Smits v. Waesberghe. 207 pp. - 16 plates.

CSM 2: Aribo, *De Musica.* Ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. XXVIII, 72 pp., 5 full-page facsimiles.

CSM 4: Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus,* ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, 243 pp. - 16 plates.

MSD 1: Cymbala (Bells in the Middle Ages), ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe.

MISC 1: Claude Le Jeune, *Airs* (1609) (in 4 vols.) ed. D. P. Walker. I: Part one of the Premier Livre.

MISC 2: *A Textbook of Melody.* Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. 107 pp.

MD: *Musica Disciplina* (A Journal of the History of Music) ed. Armen Carapetyan. I-IX.

Works in Progress at Engravers and Printers

CMM 3: Adriano Willaert, *Opera omnia,* ed. Gerstenberg. Volume V.

CMM 4: Jacobus Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia,* ed. K. Ph. Bernat-Kempers. Volume III.

CMM 5: Antoine Brumel, *Opera omnia,* ed. Armen Carapetyan. Volume I/2.

CMM 6: Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia,* ed. J. Schmidt-Görg. Volume IV.

[3] Almost all the titles in CMM comprise more than one volume; so also in the case of various titles in CSM; (all such works are available by subscription to the entire set).

[4] The completion of the edition has been somewhat delayed by the editor, thanks to change in circumstances. It is hoped that he will be able to meet his commitment without further undue delay.

CMM 9: Johannes Regis, *Opera omnia,* ed. C. W. H. Lindenburg. Vols. I & II.
CMM 10: F. Gafurius, *The Musical Works,* ed. Lütz Finscher. Vol. I/1.
CMM 11: *Early Fifteenth-Century Music I,* Baude Cordier, Johannes Cesaris, J. Tapissier, J. Carmen, *Collected Works.* Ed. Gilbert Reaney.
CSM 3: Jacobus Leodiensis, *Speculum Musicae,* ed. Roger Bragard. Vol. I.
MSD 2: *The Worcester Fragments,* Luther Dittmer.
CSM 5: Marchettus de Padua, *Pomerium,* ed. Giuseppe Vecchi.
CSM 6: Ugolinus de Orvieto, *De Musica,* ed. Albert Seay.
MISC 1: Claude Le Jeune, *Airs,* ed. D. P. Walker, Vols. II, III, IV.

In Preparation

CMM: *Music of the Notre-Dame Epoch,* ed. Heinrich Husmann
The Musical Works of Adam de la Halle, ed. Friedrich Gennrich
Philippe de Vitry, *Opera omnia,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
The Tournai Mass, ed. Charles van den Borren
Johannes Ciconia, *Opera omnia,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Roman de Fauvel, ed. Gilbert Reaney
Unpublished Music from Ms. Can. Misc. 213, ed. Gilbert Reaney
A. Agricola, *Opera omnia,* ed. Edward Lerner
H. van Ghizeghem, *Opera omnia,* ed. C. W. H. Lindenburg
Gaspar van Werbecke, *Opera omnia,* ed. Gerhard Croll
Antoine Busnois, *Opera omnia,* ed. Catherine Brooks
Loyset Compère, *Opera omnia,* ed. Lütz Finscher
Johannes Tinctoris, *Musical Works,* ed. F. Feldmann
Mattheus Pipelare, *Opera omnia,* ed. Ronald W. Cross
Thomas Crequillon, *Opera omnia,* ed. Nanie Bridgman
Cipriano de Rore, *Opera omnia,* ed. Bernhard Meier
Giovanni Gabrieli, *Opera omnia,* ed. Denis Arnold
Andrea Gabrieli, *Opera omnia,* ed. Jeremy Noble, Denis Arnold
Giovanni Animuccia, *Opera omnia,* ed. L. Cervelli.

CSM: Anonymi O.F.M. (Simon Tunstede?), *Quatuor principalia musicae,* ed. Gilbert Reaney
Anonymus, *De Organo* (ex codice Laudunensi alisque) ed. Jacques Handschin
Anonymus, *Liber Argumentorum,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Anonymus, *Liber Specierum,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Anonymus, *Notitia del valore del canto misurato,* ed. Armen Carapetyan
Aurelianus Reomensis, *Musica Disciplina,* ed. Jacques Handschin
Bernardus, *Tonale,* ed. S. A. van Dijk
Berno Augiensis, *Prologus in Tonarium cum Tonario,* ed. J. Schmidt-Görg
Franco de Colonia, *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Frutolfus, *Breviarium de Musica cum Tonario,* ed. Bruno Stäblein
Georgius Anselmi, *Dialogi de harmonia,* ed. Jacques Handschin
Guido Aretinus, *Regulae Ritmicae,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Guido Aretinus, *Prologus in Antiphonarium,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Guido Aretinus, *Epistola Micheli Monaco,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Henricus Augustensis, *De Musica,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Hermanni Contracti, *De Musica,* ed. Leonard Ellinwood

Hucbaldus Elnonensis, *De Harmonica Istitutione,* ed. Jacques Handschin
Johannes de Grocheo, *De arte musica,* ed. Rudolf Stephan
Johannes Hollondrinus, *Versus de Musica,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Johannes de Muris, *Musica Speculative,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Johannes de Muris, *Musica Practica,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Johannes de Muris, *Libellus Cantus Mensurabilis,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* ed. Albert van der Linden
Johannis Hothby, *Opera omnia de arte musica,* ed. Gilbert Reaney
Marchettus de Padua, *Lucidarium,* ed. Giusippe Vecchi
Mattaeus Herbenus Traiectensis, *Libri tres de natura cantus ac miraculis vocis,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Motus, *Tractatus diversi de motu vocum,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Notkerus Balbulus, *Epistola de litteris appositis neumis,* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe
Notkerus Balbulus, *Epistola ad Liutwardum,* ed. Bruno Stäblein
Oddo (?), *Dialogus de Musica,* ed. Heinrich Hüschen
Oddo (?), *Tractatus diversi* (sub nomine auctoris Oddonis), ed. Heinrich Hüschen
Petrus de Cruce, *Tractatus de Tonis,* ed. Arnold Geering
Philippus Vitriacus, *Ars Nova,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Tractatus de contrapuncto,* ed. Heinrich Besseler
Regino Prmiensis, *De armonica Istitutione,* ed. Margarete Reimann
Theinred, *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum,* ed. Gilbert Reaney
Theogerus Mettensis, *De Musica,* ed. Rudolf Stephan
Wilhelmus Hirsaugensis, *De Musica,* ed. K. G. Fellerer.

MSD: *Mass Music of the Papal Court at Avignon,* Hanna Harder
The History of English Keyboard Music Before the 17th Century, Denis Stevens
The Completed Edition of Ludwig's Repertorium, Luther Dittmer.

The Tropers:
The Polyphony of the Saint Martial Manuscripts, ed. Jacques Handschin.

In ten years the Institute's work has become well known throughout the world wherever any interest exists in the history and practice of early music. All the leading universities, numerous others and many colleges and all important public libraries are subscribers to the Institute's publications. The great universities of England and America, as also some on the Continent have from an early moment had a standing order for everything that the Institute would publish — an honor to the Institute and a challenging trust in the quality of its work. The Institute's publications have reached beyond Europe, Russia, North and South America, as far as Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Africa, Iran, Israel, Egypt and occasionally other countries.

But the greatest satisfaction, in the face of untold toils, in carrying on with work of the Institute is the consciousness that some contribution has perhaps been and will continue to be made to the attainment of a state of things where musical scholarship will stand shoulder to shoulder and in pace at our universities with scholarship in other fields in the humanities; and on the other hand that European music of the earlier ages will some day have been consolidated with modern culture, as well as become an established part of the serious music lover's repertory [5].

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[5] We may be permitted to quote passages from two letters in the week's mail at the time of writing, entirely unsolicited and incidental to a discussion of other editorial business, but occasioned by the receipt of the latest issues among the Institute's publications. One comes from a revered and beloved professor and musical scholar in Belgium, the other from one of the best known musical scholars and professors in America:

> "... je suis de plus en plus persuadé que vous realisez une oeuvre musicologique que comptera parmi les plus belles et les plus utiles de notre siêcle." Charles van den Borren.

> "Let me begin this letter by congratulating you once more upon your splendid work, for which we are all so grateful and indebted to you." Willi Apel.

SAINTS OF MUSIC

KATHI MEYER-BAER

INTRODUCTION

There are four saints only to have achieved a symbolic meaning as representatives of music. Saint Cecilia has been a patroness of musicians and a symbol of music since the 15th century. St. John the Baptist stands as patron of church music since the earlier middle ages. Saint Wilgefortis and Saint Job were patrons of musicians, especially of guilds of musicians, from the 15th to the 17th century [1].

None of these figures are connected with music in the official hagiographic sources. Music occurs once incidentally in the legend of Saint Cecilia, and it is mentioned in an apocryphal piece of writing about Job. But these references remained dormant, almost completely, for centuries. Then, in the 15th century, when the figures of the princely maecenas and of the female musician became popular, these references came to life. The saints then were associated with these types of music patrons; and traits of earlier personifications of music were transferred to the saints, giving them the symbolic role of representatives of music. It is the purpose of this article to follow the development of these changes.

There have besides been a series of saints who have been praised and venerated for their merits concerning music [2]. These merits are based on

[1] *Acta Sanctorum,* ed. J. Bollandus, Paris, 1863 sqq., and S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the saints,* Edinburgh, 1914 sqq.; 'Cecilia', April 14th; 'Job', May 10th; 'Wilgefortis', July 5th.

[2] Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Traité d'iconographie chrétienne,* Paris, 1898.

Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst,* Stuttgart, 1943.

F. Brunswick, *Heilige und ihre Symbole in der darstellenden Kunst,* Rom, 1914.

Charles Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire,* Paris, 1867.

Dictionary of Christian antiquity (William Smith-Samuel Cheetham), Boston, 1875.

Dictionary of Christian biographies (William Smith-Henry Wace), London, 1877.

Peter H. Ditchfield, *Symbolism of the saints,* Oxford, 1910.

Franz v. Sales Doyé, *Heilige und Selige der roemisch katholischen Kirche,* Leipzig, 1929.

Maurice and Wilfred Drake, *Saints and their emblems,* London, 1916.

their writing or composing liturgical hymns, or on their activity as teachers and reformers of the liturgy. For some of their activities we have documented reports, including legends which tell of visions in which the saints were ordered to perform their deeds.

Some of the reformers, praised in connection with music and sometimes represented with musical instruments are: Pope Leo I (440-461); St. Gregory (c. 540-604), after whom the plain song is named Gregorian chant; Benedictus Biscopus (d. 690) of Canterbury; and Odo, abbot of Cluny (d. 942). Reformers who were urged to their tasks by visions of heavenly choirs were St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. 107) who is believed to have introduced the singing of antiphons into the Byzantine church, and St. Dunstan (d. 988) who in a vision was told by angels to work for the embellishment of the liturgy.

Saintly writers of hymns are: St. Ambrose (c. 340-397) who is venerated also as reformer, and, for the Byzantine church, SS. Germanos (c. 700) and Romanus (c. 500); to the latter — so the legend reports — the Holy Virgin gave a book which she ordered him to swallow. He obeyed, and thus incorporated the inspiration to write his famous hymns. Arnold, a singer at the court of Charlemagne, became a saint and is represented with

Frederick G. Holweck, *A biographical dictionary of the saints,* St. Louis-London, 1924.

Karl Kuenstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* Freiburg, 1928, II.

Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst,* Leipzig, 1926.

Fr. Pesendorfer, *„Beitraege zur Ikonographie der weiblichen Heiligen",* Christliche Kunstblaetter, Linz, 1939, V (only partly available).

Joseph M. v. Radowitz, *Ikonographie der Heiligen,* Berlin, 1852 (Gesammelte Schriften, I).

Corradi Ricci, *Eroi, Santo ed Artisti,* Milano, 1930.

For the individuals saints see *Acta Sanctorum* and S. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*

Aldhelm May 25; Ambrosius Dec. 7; Benedict March 21; Benedict Biscopus Jan. 12; David March 10; Genes(ius) Aug. 25; Gregorius March 12; Ignatius Febr. 1; Joannes Bonus Oct. 9; Leo I April 11; Leo IX April 19; Odo Nov. 18; Paphnutius Sept. 11; Philemon March 8; Severinus Jan. 8.

For Germanos and Romanos, Henry J. W. Tillyard, *Byzantine music and hymnology,* London, 1923, p. 8 sqq, p. 28; Egon Wellesz, *Byzantinische Musik,* Breslau, 1927, p. 29 sqq; Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst,* Potsdam, 1918, p. 529, fig. 460, illumination from the Menologium Vaticanum.

For Fouques de Marseille and Silain (Sail d'Escola) de Perigord, Charles Chabaneau, *Les biographies des troubadours en langue provençale,* Toulouse, 1885, pp. 349, 382; Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen-âge,* Paris, 1910, p. 157, (*Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, phil. hist.* vol. 187).

For Julien, Hans J. Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik,* Stuttgart, 1926, I, p. 298; the hospital of the guild was dedicated to St. Genesius; Wilhelm Foerster, *"Le Saint Vou de Lucques", Romanische Forschungen,* 1907, XXIII, p. 7.

a viol; Pope Leo IX (1048-94) and Silain of Perigord (c. 1170-1180) were sainted for the melodies and poems they contributed to the liturgy. St. Aldhelm (639-709) is sometimes represented with the harp. This, however, does not signify an attachment to music, since he condemns it as a pagan art. But he is credited with having introduced Latin metric poetry into England.

So far we have named saints who have contributed to the poetry and music of the early church in a positive way. There is another group of saints who belonged to the despised class of pagan or secular musicians; driven by visions they gave up their profession, converted themselves and became saints. From the period of Christian antiquity we list Philemon of Egypt (d. 303), an aulos player who, converted by Appolonius, burned his own pipes as instruments of Satan. Famous is St. Genesius (d. 286), an actor who in a satire had to enact the conversion of a sick man. While performing his role he actually converted himself and died later for his faith. He became the patron of actors, and thereby of the musicians, who belonged to the same class. His legend has been retold in several poems up to the 20th century. We shall see that it has been incorporated also into other legends. The best known examples of such conversions in the middle ages are the *jongleur* Fouques de Marseilles (13th cent.), who later was a monk at Citaux and bishop of Toulouse, and Jean le Bon (c. 1200), a troubadour and actor, who abandoned his secular profession and became an active man of the church and founder of several monasteries. These saints who converted themselves from a pagan or secular activity as musicians, recall the famous fable of the tumbler of Our Lady, known in many versions and languages. We shall meet its influence in the legend of St. Wilgefortis.

Paphnutius, abbot of Thebes in Egypt (4th cent.), is sometimes represented with a musical instrument, because the Lord showed him in a vision a despised musician as an example of the saintly life; St. Severin of Cologne (4th cent.) is connected with music because a chorus of singing angels informed him of the death of St. Martin. St. David (d. 589), patron saint of Wales, is sometimes represented with a harp. However, his acts do not report anything of a special talent or inclination for music. Two reasons seem to have contributed to his reputation as a musician, the outstanding musical gift of the people of Wales and the identity of his name with that of David, the psalmist, who occurs many times as patron of music but never as a saint. Such confusions and adaptations are instructive, and will help us to clarify some other relationships.

The patron of the minstrels, the traveling musicians, was St. Julien l'hospitalier, a Frenchman of the 9th century, who managed a large inn for pilgrims and minstrels. His legend relates a kind of Oedipus fate. As a

youth, it had been prophecized to him that he would kill his parents; and though he tried everything to prevent it, the crime took place. In 1330 Philipp the Beautiful made him the patron of one of the earliest guilds of musicians, the *confrérie des ménéstriers* (founded in 1288). But chiefly Julien is the protector of travelers, and in this capacity he protects minstrels.

All the saints we have listed are sometimes represented with musical instruments, or they are called protectors of musicians. Though the major figures have been named, our list is not exhaustive. Moreover, none of these figures attained the rank of symbol of music. Of the four saints that did achieve this distinction, three came into prominence about 1450 in connection with the development of the guilds. As we have seen in the case of St. Julien, these guilds used to choose a patron, a figure that did not necessarily have to be a saint. King David was such a patron, especially in Germany. If a saint figures as a patron, he was usually chosen because the guild belonged to a parish of a church which was dedicated to him. Through the studies of van der Straeten [3] we are well informed about this custom in Holland. For example, in Oudenarde we find as patron Saint Sebastian, in Breda Saint Roch, in Lièges Saint Aegidius, in Antwerp Saint Mary Magdalene. In Tongres the *danse des morts* was performed by the society of Saint Hubert. None of these saints mentioned here had anything to do with music. Only a few names among saints appear more often as patrons of musical guilds: Saint Wilgefortis and Saint Job in Germany, Flanders and Switzerland, and from the 16th century on Saint Cecilia. Saint John the Baptist became a saint of music much earlier, independently of the formation of the guilds.

I want to show how richly varied are the stories about the four saints who attained the status of symbols of music. Common to all is the fact that in the stories of their lives as they are told in the official sources — the Bible, the Gospels and the Acts — there is no connection with music. Their musical role is based on a literary source, in the case of Saint Cecilia on an antiphon of her office, with Saint John on a hymn in his honor, with Saint Job on an apocryphal legend. In the case of Saint Wilgefortis literary and visiual sources have had an influence. How these sources have been used, we shall see in the stories themselves.

SAINT WILGEFORTIS

The Acts of St. Wilgefortis were composed in the 15th century [4]. There exist several versions of her story; so different are they that even the

[3] Edmund v. d. Straeten, *Les ménéstrels aux Pays-Bas,* Bruxelles, 1878.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum,* July 5th; Gustav Schnuerer, *Die aeltesten Legenden der*

editors of the Acts are unable to reconcile them. It is uncertain when the saint lived. She appears under a score of names, such as Liberada or Liberata, in low German as Uncumber, Kuemmernis, Kommia, Comera, Huelfe, Outcommere, also as Etropia, Reginefeldis, and finally as Diguefortis, Virgofortis or Wilgefortis. One version of the legend relates that she was the daughter of a king of Portugal, and was to marry the pagan king of Sicily. She was Christian and implored God to disfigure her so that she would be spurned. Thereupon she grew a beard, and the enraged father ordered her to be crucified.

It is believed today that this legend is connected with the famous crucifix, the Volto Santo, in Lucca [5]. This cross, too, gave rise to several legends [6]. These relate how the image was brought to Italy by sea in a miraculous manner, on a boat without a crew; it came from the Holy Land where it had been carved by Nicodemus; in a hollow of the wood a chalice was found which was identified with the Grail. One version tells that Queen Helena and her husband David, King of Troy, found the cross. Now, the Volto Santo represents the Savoir dressed in a long gown and with a crown. This is the Byzantine form unusual in the West, so that people mistook it for the image of a crucified woman, i.e. St. Wilgefortis. As Lucca was a pilgrimage center, the legend spread fast and wide. In the 12th century we find it as far North as Iceland [7].

Many representations of the Volto Santo are extant, most of them woodcuts [8]. On some of them we see a chalice under one foot and the other plated with silver, probably because it was broken and repaired; for both features we have documents from the 11th century. It seems that the chalice was put under the foot on certain days, or that it was put there as a support.

The silver plated foot gave rise to that part of the legend which connects St. Wilgefortis with music. On many representations of the cross (which are identical with the representations of St. Wilgefortis, the only difference being that she *always* wears a crown) we see at the feet of the

heiligen Kuemmernis (*Festschrift.* Georg Hertling, Muenchen, 1913, p. 96); J. Gessler, *De Vlaamsche Baardheilige Wilgefortis,* Antv., 1937.

[5] *Enciclopedia Italiana,* vol. 35, col. 584; Wilh. Foerster, *loc. cit.,* p. 1 sqq.; Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle,* Paris, 1922, p. 253.

[6] Wilh. Foerster, *loc. cit.,* p. 46, no. 4.

[7] Gustav Schnuerer and Joseph M. Ritz, *Sanct Kuemmernis und Volto Santo,* Duesseldorf, 1934, (*Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 13/15*); Clairece Black, "The origin of the Lucchese Crossform", *Marsyas,* New York, 1941, I, p. 27.

[8] See illustration in *Acta Sanctorum;* Aglaeus Bouvenne, *"Sainte Wilgefortis", Revue de l'art chrétien,* X, 1866, p. 119; J. J. Timmers, *Symboliek .... der Christelijke Kunst,* Roermond-Maaseik, 1947, p. 137.

crucified figure a kneeling minstrel playing the violin. For this scene, too, we have visual examples, an ivory from the 13th century and a French manuscript from the 15th century where the miniature with the minstrel heads the chapter: *Comment the soulce dargent du sant voult fu donné . . .*, how the silver shoe of the Santo Volto was given to the minstrel [9].

The musical part of the legend belongs to the cycle of tales of the Tumbler of Our Lady, mentioned above [10]. It exists in several more or less similar versions which tell of a poor minstrel who came to Lucca, had no money left, and went to the cathedral to ask the help of the Volto Santo. Playing his violin was the only gift he had to offer to the sacred picture. Thereupon the saint let drop his or her silver shoe. The minstrel took it up and tried to sell it. But the shoe was recognized, and the minstrel was accused by the bishop of having stolen it. When the minstrel told his story, nobody believed him. Finally the miracle was repeated before the whole throng, and the bishop gave the equivalent of the shoe in money to the poor minstrel [11]. In some French versions the minstrel is called Jenois, a name that has been thought derived from Genis, Geneis, Genesius, the saint whom we have mentioned above [12].

Since the saint proved herself as the helper of a minstrel, she became the patroness of musicians, and was popular in this role in France, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. Several different legends had to contribute to this development. Saint Wilgefortis never actually became a figure symbolic of music in general; but she was patroness of several guilds of musicians from the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 17th century.

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

In some modern books St. John is called the saint of church music [13]. So far as I know there is no source, pictorial or literary, for this popular

[9] Karl Christ, *Die altfranzoesischen Handschriften der Palatina,* Leipzig, 1916, p. 100, (*Beihefte zum Zentralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen,* XLVI); this cod. Vat. Pal. 1988 gives a French version by Jean Golein (d. 1403); the latest Latin version dates from 1344; in the Palatine MS many German marginal remarks from the 16th cent., summarized at the end *non credo.*

[10] Wilh. Foerster, *"Tumbeor de Nostre Dame", Romania,* II, 1873, p. 315; the text ed. by H. Waechter, *Romanische Forschungen,* XI, 1895, p. 223; free transl. into German by Wilhelm Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch,* Stuttgart, 1886, p. 209.

[11] Fr. Schliess, *"Kirchliche Alterthuemer aus der St. Nikolaskirche zu Rostock", Zeitschrift fuer christliche Kunst,* VIII, 1895, p. 5.

[12] Wilh. Foerster, in *Romanische Forschungen,* XXIII, 1907, chap. V; Richard Heinzel, "Orendel", *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil. hist.,* Wien, 1892, CXXVI, No. 1, p. 1-90.

[13] Otto Ursprung, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik,* Potsdam, 1931, p. 143.

tradition. If in the 15th and 16th century some guilds of musicians chose him as patron saint, it was because the parish to which the guild belonged was attached to a church dedicated to St. John. As patron saint of guilds of musicians he did not attain any outstanding role as St. Wilgefortis did. I have not found any representation of St. John with musical instruments. His attributes are the lamb and the reed cross; sometimes he carries a scroll, or rests his arm on a book. In the Byzantine tradition, a star and a crescent are seen beside his head. His typical gesture is the outstretched arm with the pointing finger [14].

He is the saint of the baptisteries and baptismal fonts, a function derived from his role in the Gospels. He is the saint of the shepherds, of the tailors, and of the barbers; his help is invoked in floods and against hail. In two regions of France, in Creteil near Paris and in Amiens where his head is kept as a relic, he is invoked to free from epileptic attacks [15]. This trait might be connected with the dance of Salome and with the cure of St. Vitus dance. But there is only this slight and indirect connection with music. As we find no other musical allusion to St. John, we must look elswehere for the source of the popular tradition. There is a famous hymn addressed to the saint, and its melody has been used as a singing exercise for over 1000 years [16]:

Ut queant laxis	That your faithful servants
*Re*sonare fibris	
*Mi*ra tuorum	May praise your wondrous deeds
*Fa*muli tuorum	With clear voices,
*So*lve polluti	Free the culprits' polluted lips,
*La*bii reatum	
*S*ancte *I*ohanne	Saint John!

This hymn is supposed to have been written by Paul the Deacon, the famous historian of the Lombards. Paul was the son of the Lombard Wallafried and had retired in the 8th century to the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, which since its establishment in 529 had been a center of learning [17]. In the hymn, the saint is not invoked to aid the musical

[14] See note 2, and J. L. André, "Saint John the Baptist in art, legend and ritual", *Archeological Journal,* L, London, 1893, p. 1.

[15] Jean Baptiste Pardiac, *Histoire de Saint Jean et de son culte,* Paris, 1886; an outline in *Revue de l'art chrétien,* 1886, p. 540; Auguste Breuil, *Du culte de Saint Jean-Baptiste et des usages profanes qui s'y rattachent,* Amiens, 1846 (*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie,* 1846, VIII, p. 186-220).

[16] O. Ursprung, *op. cit.,* p. 65; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages,* New York, 1940, p. 150.

[17] Jules Leroy, *Mont Cassin, cité d'humanisme,* Bruges, 1947.

performance; he is asked to heal the colds and coughing, to make the voices of the singers clear. His role, then, is that of a healer, rather than of a musician. We have met him in France in a somewhat similar role [18].

The text of the hymn suggests that St. John was venerated at Monte Cassino in particular as healer or *medicus*. The monastery was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. St. Benedict had erected it in 529 on the site of pagan sanctuaries of Jupiter, Venus and Apollo. The *Dialogus in Lombardis* of St. Gregory, as well as the *Legenda Aurea,* tell how Benedict destroyed the temples, cut down the holy trees, and destroyed in particular a bronze statue, an *idolum,* of Apollo [19]. Then, on the site of the temple and altar of Apollo, he built chapels for SS. Martin and John. The relationship between Apollo and St. John is demonstrated by the fact that the chief festivals of both fall on the 24th of June [20]. For the god of the sun, Apollo Helios, this longest day of the year was appropriate enough [21]; yet, curiously it is also the day of St. John. According to the Gospel of St. Luke, John was born six month before Christ; but generally festivals of saints are held on the day of their death, not on their birthdays [22]. The festival of St. John's eve and its bonfires, then, are clearly a survival of the ancient rites for Apollo Helios [23].

[18] The special saint for diseases of the throat is otherwise St. Blaze (d. 316); he is said to have saved a child that had swallowed a bone from suffocating by putting two candles in the form of a cross over the throat of the child; he is often represented holding candles in the form of a cross; see Fr. v. S. Doyé, *op. cit.,* I, p. 138.

[19] *Legenda Aurea,* „St. Benedict"; St. Gregory, *Dialogus in Lombardis* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.,* LXVI, col. 126 sqq.); Justin Mc Cann, Saint Benedict, New York, 1937, p. 89; it is possible that Benedict merely adapted the ancient temple to Christian service. The use of such rededications started in his period. Originally they had been forbidden, for fear that the lingering influence of pagan rites might prove too strong. St. Gregory is credited with having brought about a change in attitude; in the beginning he opposed the use of former pagan sanctuaries, but later recognized the advantage and advocated such transformations; see Wilhelm Deinhardt, *"Patrozinienkunde", Historisches Jahrbuch,* LVI, 1936, p. 174-207; St. Gregory, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXXVII, col. 1583, *Directivus "templum".*

[20] Emile Nourry, *Les saints successeurs des dieux. Essai de mythologie chrétienne,* Paris, 1907, p. 322.

[21] E. Nourry, *op. cit.,* p. 355; Franz Cumont, *Les religions orientales,* 4. ed. Paris, 1928, p. 166 sqq.; Joseph Bidez et Fr. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés,* Paris, 1938, p. 372.

[22] St. Augustine pointed out the unique fact that the day of St. John falls on his birthday. Sermo 196 *"In natali Domini",* and Sermo 287 *"In natali Joannis Baptistae", 'solos duos natales celebrat (ecclesia) huius (Joannis) et Christi',* Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXXVIII, col. 1019 and 1302.

[23] The bonfires were officially forbidden as late as 692 by the church council at Trullo; during the period of Charlemagne they were permitted again, kindled by the kings and circumambulated nine times in a procession; A. Breuil, *loc. cit.,* p. 186

In antiquity Apollo had many other aspects besides that of the sun god — Helios — and of the patron of the fine arts — Kitharodos [24]. One which is little known today and of which the middle ages were well aware, was his role as Apollo *medicus,* the god of healing and father of Asclepios. In the hellenistic period Apollo was venerated in many places as the healer. Among the saints generally St. Michael took the place of Apollo *medicus* [25]. Perhaps the temple in Monte Cassino, or rather Cassinum, had been dedicated to the Apollo *medicus,* in which case this special aspect would have been transferred to his successor, as has happened frequently. This would explain why St. John is invoked in the hymn as a healer.

The words of the hymn do not imply any relation to music, apart from the fact that 'singers' are imploring the saint to heal their colds in order that they may sing with clear voices. Still, the hymn has been of great importance for the development of music; it became one of the most popular singing exercises. Its melody runs in such a way that the opening notes of each line form the scale: *ut* (*do*) *re mi fa sol la si.* With the exception of *ut* which was replaced by *do* because of the inconvenient pronunciation, and the sylable *si* — derived from *S*ancte *J*ohanne — which was added later, these are the original syllables still in use today [26].

From the 10th century to modern times the theory of these syllables has been expounded in numerous treatises. Thus the relationship between St. John and music was established. Several different factors have helped to make St. John the patron of church music: the importance of the hymn; its origin in Monte Cassino, a monastery dedicated to the saint; the erection of the monastery on a site where a cult of Apollo had been before; and the relation between the saint and Apollo, the god of the sun, the god of healing, and the patron of fine arts.

SAINT CECILIA

The one outstanding symbolic representative of music among the saints is certainly Saint Cecilia. Numerous musical institutions are named after

sqq.; J. B. Pardiac, *Les feux de Saint Jean,* Bordeaux, 1871 and 1879; id. *op. cit.*; Giuseppe Ferraro, *"Gosos ed usi nella festa di S. Giovanni in Sardegna", Archivio per lo studio delle traduzioni populari,* XVI, 1897, p. 459.

[24] Gaston Colin, *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes,* (*Bibl. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et Rome,* fasc. 93, 1905); Frederik Poulsen, *Delphische Studien,* (*Konigl. Danske Vidensk. Sels. Hist. phil. Meddelelser,* VIII, 1923); Walter Otto, *Die Goetter Griechenlands,* Bonn, 1929.

[25] Caesar, *De bello Gallico,* VI, 17; G. F. Hill, "Apollo and St. Michael", *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies,* 36, 1916, p. 134.

[26] The oldest known source for the hymn is a manuscript of the 10th century at Montpellier; see O. Ursprung, *op. cit.,* p. 65.

her. In many pictures she has been represented as a musician by Renaissance and Baroque painters. Many poems and musical compositions praise her as the patroness of music. The best known, perhaps, is Dryden's Ode to the saint (or 'Feast of Alexander'), set to music by Handel where the appearance of Cecilia introduces the highest stage of music.

It is rather surprising, then, to learn that the saint has had this role only since about 1500, although Cecilia had been an important and much venerated saint for more than a thousand years. She lived in the 2nd century and belonged to the Roman nobility [27]. Secretly she had already become a Christian when she was betrothed to Valerian. On her wedding night she told him about her visions of angels and converted him to her faith. Angels brought them wedding crowns, wreaths of roses from which emanated celestial fragrances. Both lovers publicly avowed their new faith, and died later as martyrs.

Cecilia's name is not to be found in the oldest list of the tombs of martyrs, the *Depositio martyrorum* [28] from the 4th century; but the oldest missal, the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* [29], from the 5th century, contains five different masses in her honor; that means that by then she had become an important figure. This also suggests that her Acts were composed in the period between the *Depositio* and the *Sacramentarium,* in the middle of the 5th century. Originally her festival was held on the 14th of April, the octave on the 21st. In the 8th century Ado and Usuardus, in their martyrologies, list the 22nd of November, the day used today [30]. It is the date on which her principal church in Trastevere near Rome had been dedicated. It is supposed that this church was originally erected over her tomb, since it is mentioned in the earliest pilgrim's guides [31]. The church was rebuilt in the 9th century, and Pope Pascal I ordered monks from a monastery in the neighborhood to sing the prayer service in her honor, her Office, there daily [32].

This Office is considered the reason why Saint Cecilia has been chosen as the saint of music. The part of her Office from which the tradition

[27] *Acta Sanctorum,* April 14th; *Catholic Encyclopedia* 'Cecilia'; Fernand Cabrol-Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne,* 1907, article by H. Quentin; Prosper Guéranger, *St. Cécile et la société Romaine,* Paris, 1898.

[28] Orazio Marucchi, *Le catacombe Romani,* Roma, 1933, p. 19, I.

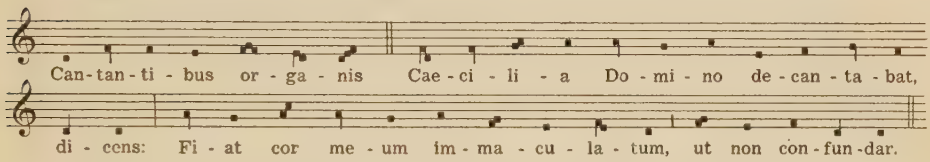
[29] Lodovico Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus, tria sacramentaria complectens,* Ven. 1748; 2nd edit. in: Muratori, *Opere,* Arezzo, 1771, XIII. 1. 737.

[30] S. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.,* see note 1; the martyrologies in Migne, *Patr. Lat.,* Ado, CXXIII, col. 143-180; Usuardus, CXXIII, col. 453 and CXXIV, col. 755.

[31] O. Marucchi, *op. cit.,* p. 21 sqq., II and III.

[32] Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments,* Paris, 1893, I.

seems to derive is the first response of the night service, a text which is almost literally taken from the Acts: *Cantantibus organis, Caecilia virgo in corde suo soli Domino decantabat dicens "Fiat cor meum immaculatum ut non confundar"*. (While the organs played at the wedding banquet, the virgin Cecilia sang in her heart for God alone, 'saying': Keep my heart immaculate so that I may not be condemned.) This text is almost identically repeated in two other verses of the service, in the first antiphon of the Laudes and the first antiphon of the Vespers; but here the three words *in corde suo* are omitted, thus changing the sense unless we have the original text of the Acts before us. The changed text reads [33]



The construction and syntax of this shortened phrase could be misunderstood. Especially if *cantantibus* was written with an abbreviation it could be mistaken for *cantans,* and the ablative absolute *cantantibus organis* could be considered as a dative. Then it could mean that 'Cecilia was singing to (the accompaniment of) the organ, saying . . .' This could give the illusion that the saint was singing and accompanying herself on the organ.

The change of meaning must have come about very slowly; we have proof, however, that the service of St. Cecilia was widespread as early as the beginning of the 8th century, although at that time the original idea, that Cecilia did not play the organ herself, was still valid. St. Aldhelm (d. 709), the English abbot and bishop, mentions the organ in several places of his poem *De Virginitate* [34], and once in connection with Cecilia:

> Quae sponsum proprium convertit dogmate sancto
> .....
> Quamvis armoniis praesultent organa multis
> Musica, Pierio resonent et carmina cantu,
> non tamen inflexit fallax praecordia mentis
> Pompa profanorum quae nectit retia sanctis.

[33] *Roemisches Vesperbuch,* Regensburg, 1900, p. 235.

[34] In his writings he refers to the organ, and possibly also in several places, to the organum, that earliest kind of polyphony. He is sometimes represented with the harp, although, if he mentions music and the organ, it is always to oppose its use; to him the organ was the instrument of pagan rites; Ernst R. Curtius, *Europaeische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter,* Bern, 1948, p. 454.

In a prose version of the poem by Aldhelm the sentence reads: *Cecilia . . . licet organica bis quinquagenis et ter quinis sonorum vocibus concreparet armonia, acsi letiferos Sirenarum concentus, cum inexpertos quosque ad vitae pericula pellexerint, sub praetextu integritatis surdis auribus auscultabat* [35]. The music of the organ is likened here to the song of the Muses and of the Sirens, and rejected as pagan pomp. Cecilia listened to it with deaf ears, a proof of her piety. In the 7th and 8th century it would have been improper for a woman saint to be represented as a musician or playing the organ [36]. Only in the 11th century did women musicians begin to appear in the illuminations of liturgical manuscripts and among the sculptures of cathedrals [37], a change resulting from the influence of the troubadours and the jongleurs. But even if Aldhelm rejected the organ, his words show that the antiphon from the Office of the saint was popular, and somehow introduced the idea of Cecilia in connection with the organ.

Up to the end of the 15th century we know about sixty representations of the saint in mosaics, frescoes, sculpture and miniatures [38]. Yet she does not seem to have been shown with a musical instrument until the middle of the 14th century. Her attributes are the torch, the palm branch, or the book, the usual signs of a saint, or she has the wedding crown or wreath, characteristic of her. The best known example is the mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna [39]. As similar representations I mention — only to follow the tradition through the centuries — a miniature in the Ms. Amiens 108 from the 12th century, another one in the Ms. fr. 417 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (14th cent.), the painting by Fra Angelico in the Louvre, and the miniature in the manuscripts lat. 17294 and fr. 51 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (15th cent.).

Among the scenes from St. Cecilia's life the most frequently depicted are the wedding night, Cecilia and Valerian talking together (e.g. the

[35] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIX, col. 141; *Monumenta Germ. Hist. Auctorum antiquissimorum,* vol. XV, p. 424; Jacques Handschin, *"Zur Geschichte der Lehre vom Organum", Zeitschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft,* VIII, 1925/26, p. 321.

[36] The organ which to us seems the prototype of churchmusic, was not admitted into the liturgy by the Church fathers; actually the organ was known as the instrument of the circus games; and thus we see it on the obelisk of Theodosius, 390 A.D., in the scene where the emperor opens the games; the obelisk today in the Hippodrom at Konstantinopel; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst,* Potsdam, 1918, I, pl. XII.

[37] Examples among others at Chartres, Cluny, in the MS. lat. 1118, a tropary in the Bibl. Nationale, etc.

[38] C. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.,* I.

[39] *Enciclopedia Italiana* 'Cecilia'; C. Rohault de Fleury, *loc. cit.* no. 38; for the MSS. *ibid.* nos. 53 and 64/65.

sculpture at the Strasbourg Cathedral), or her martyrdom. That the connection of the saint with music was not popular until the 16th century, we can gather from three important specimens. The Second Nun's Tale from Chaucer tells the story of Cecilia, following strictly the text of the Acts and the *Legenda Aurea.* Only one verse refers to the organ (134):

> And while the organs maden melodie
> To God allone in hart thus sang she:
> "O Lord, my soule and eek my body gye
> Unwemmed, lest it confounded be."

This is the only place where music is referred to and in words identical with those of the Acts.

The same conclusion is suggested by the fresco in Sta. Maria del Carmine in Florence [40], discovered in 1858 and ascribed to Bicci di Lorenzo (1373-1452). The scene is divided into three parts, in the middle the wedding banquet (Cecilia, with a halo, and Valerian are seated at the table; on the right are two flute players, the type of musicians used to represent pagan feasts in Renaissance pictures). In the section on the left a woman plays an organ; she has no halo; thus, she can not be Cecilia. In the section on the right we see Cecilia, with a halo, conferring with Valerian.

Finally, there is the cycle of paintings in the chapel of St. Cecilia in Bologna for which later Raphael painted his famous picture of the saint [41]. This chapel was added to the church San Giovanni Maggiore in 1319, and newly vaulted in 1481. The cycle was begun in 1504, about ten years before Raphael painted the altarpiece for the same chapel, and was executed by various painters. The choice of the scenes depicted is related to the Cecilia panel in the Uffizi, once ascribed to Cimabue. The Bologna cycle contains the following ten paintings:

1. Francesco Francia, the wedding (not the banquet, but the ceremony). Under an arch, five men facing five women. Valerian puts the ring on Cecilia's finger.
2. Giovanni Maria Chiodarolo, Cecilia and Valerian crowned by an angel.
3. Lorenzo Costa, Cecilia giving alms to the poor.
4. Amico Aspertini, Cecilia debating with the prefect Almachius.
5. Costa, Saint Urban instructs Valerian in the faith.
6. Francia, Baptism of Valerian.

[40] Oswald Siren, *"De alcuni pittori fiorentini", Arte,* VII, 1904, no. 19, p. 337.

[41] George C. Williamson, *Francesco Raibolino called Francia,* London, 1901, p. 74 sqq., pl. XXXI; Raimond van Marle, *The development of the Italian schools of painting,* The Hague, 1923/38, III, p. 277, fig. 160/61.

7/8. Francia, Martyrdom and Entombment of Saint Cecilia.
9/10. Aspertini, Martyrdom and Entombment of Valerian and Tiburtius.

In contrast to Raphael's altarpiece, none of these paintings has reference to music.

Before or contemporary with Raphael we find the following representations and documents relating Cecilia to music. The earliest known specimen is a panel in Karlstein castle in Bohemia [42]. Emperor Charles IV (1347-78) had this castle decorated in the most opulent way to make it a worthy abode for the imperial insignia. These were kept in the Chapel of the Cross, the walls and the altar of which are adorned with 133 panels, 127 of them representing half-length figures of saints [43]. The altarpiece is by Tommaso da Modena; the rest is supposed to have been executed by his successor Magister Theodoricus. The figures are not named; but some of the saints can be recognized through their attributes. One of them holds a small portable organ in her arm, and is supposed to represent Saint Cecilia.

The next representation of the saint with an organ is from the middle of the 15th century, that is a hundred years later. It is the Saint Cecilia on the frame of the Schwanberg Madonna [44], again a painting from Bohemia, and again at half-length, with the organ in her arm. Of about the same period is a statue in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna [45], a woman standing with a small organ in her arm, without a halo. The sculptures in the interior of the Cathedral are executed by different artist; they are not arranged after a definite plan; the subject was chosen in each case by the donor. They adorn the pillars, grouped generally by three; the figures combined with our organ player are the Almighty, standing on a

[42] Josef Neuwirth, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Boehmen,* Prague, 1892, p. 551.

[43] It is not known where the plan for the decoration originated, nor where the Magister Theodoricus came from. Charles belonged to the house of Luxembourg, and was brought up at the French court in the surrounding of the Duke of Berry; he employed artists of different countries; the architect came from Avignon, the painters from Italy, France, and possibly Germany. In the Papal residence at Avignon there was a similar monumental decoration which has been destroyed for the greater part; from the remaining paintings it has been gathered that the Avignon cycle might have some bearings upon Karlstein; M. Bernath, *Die Malerei des Mittelalters,* Leipzig, 1916, p. 215; J. Neuwirth, *Mittelalterliche Wandgemaelde der Burg Karlstein in Boehmen,* Prague, 1896, chap. V; Antonin Matêjcek, *Gotische Malerei in Boehmen,* Prague, 1939, p. 80.

[44] A. Matêjcek, *op. cit.,* p. 271, fig. 258.

[45] Hans Tietze, *Geschichte des Stephansdomes in Wien,* Wien, 1931, pp. 405 sq., 414, fig. 480, (*Kunsthistorisches Institut, Oesterreichische Kunsttopographie,* XXIII).

console supported by two angel musicians, and an angel with a flower in her hand. It is not certain that we have St. Cecilia standing before us; it might be an angel, though without wings, belonging to a group of the annunciation. It may be mentioned that some of the sculptures in Vienna are notoriously influenced by works from Bohemia.

In 1496 (acc. to Grove, 1502) [46] St. Cecilia was elected the patron saint of the guild of musicians in Louvain. It is the earliest date known for such a choice; soon after we find her as protectress of the guilds in Ypres, Breda and Mons [47].

In 1497 appeared in Ferrara a book *De plurimis claris sceletisque* (sic) *Mulieribus Opus . . . novissime congestum,* a book famous for the artistic value of its woodcuts, and for including several portraits of contemporary women [48]. It has biographies of one hundred and seventy-four women, chosen from different domains, from mythology, hagiology, and the Bible. Among the stories of saints there is a picture of St. Cecilia holding a portative organ, of which we see eleven pipes and seven keys. The author of the book Filippo Foresti [49] is the descendent from a noble family of Bergamo who renounced wealth and position to enter the order of the Eremits of St. Augustine. He had specific historical interests, published chronological reports on the events of his period, and became a professor of history at the University in Ferrara. Foresti, called today generally Bergomensis, has used the ordinary sources in his book; for the saints the official legends. Thus in the story on St. Cecilia we read, concerning the organ, the text of the legend *Et cantantibus organis . . .* That the illustrator of the book was a man interested in music we can take from the figures on the frontispiece which represents on the top The Lord in glory, and on one side three *putti* singing from a book, on the other three *putti* with musical instruments, a tambourine, a viol and a recorder. The name of the illustrator is not known, and the style of the woodcuts has been defined as showing Venitian as well as Florentine influence. The representation of St. Cecilia is related to the miniature in the Grimany Brevary which shall be mentioned later.

[46] Percy A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companian to Music,* London-New York, 1947, p. 148 sqq.; George Grove, *Dictionary of music and musicians,* London, (last edit. 1940), article 'Cecilia'.

[47] E. v. d. Straeten, *Les ménéstrels aux Pays-Bas,* Bruxelles, 1878, pp. 69, 131, 179.

[48] I owe thanks to Prof. E. Lowinsky for having pointed out this source to me. Printed by Lorenzo Rossi (de Rubeis) da Valencia; M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien,* New York, 1944. Copies of the book in New York Publ. Library and Pierpont Morgan Library.

[49] Gust. Gruyer, *L'Art Ferrarais,* Paris, 1897, II, pp. 501 sqq.; *id.,* "Les livres publiés à Ferrare", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1889, chap. VI.

From the years 1499/1500, we have two more pictorial representations of St. Cecilia with an organ, both by the Master of the Altar of St. Bartholomew [50]. They occur on the altars of St. Bartholomew and the altar of the Holy Cross; the latter was painted for a singers' gallery in the monastery of the Carthusians at Cologne. On both pictures the saint appears as an elegant young lady, gracefully playing on the organ which is held by small angels [51]. Contemporary with Raphael's picture is the miniature in the Grimany Brevary which appears above the office of the saint [52]. These, then, are the few pictures of Cecilia with an organ before Raphael. They come from different countries — Bohemia, Germany, and Northern Italy. All these paintings and drawings are anonymous, and so far it is impossible to establish a relation between these works and to find an origin of the tradition. From the sixteenth century on there is such a number of representations of Cecilia as musician that we are unable to list them all. This indicates that Raphael established St. Cecilia as a figure symbolic of music. As the influence of this picture has been so important, we shall discuss it at some length.

Raphael painted his picture in the years 1514/1515 for Elena Dugliolo d'Olio [53], a noblewoman of Bologna who was later beatified. She is the donor also of the other paintings in the chapel of the saint belonging to the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore (or S. Giovanni in Monte). "We do not know what determined her choice (of saints). She owned a relic, as gift from the legate Alidosi; obeying the promptings of supernatural voices, she felt herself called upon to build a chapel in honor of St. Cecilia. Her relatives Antonio Pucci and his powerful uncle, Lorenzo Pucci, Grand datary of Leo X, undertook to superintend the fitting up of the chapel. The Prince of the church communicated the order to Raphael; whether he himself gave the commission is not certain. For it was the voices from the other world and from her inner being by which the foundress was guided that were decisive in the choice of the saints, not the ineffective voice of the Cardinal, which, as we know from Paris de Grassis, prevented

[50] Ludwig Scheibler & Karl Aldenhoven, *Geschichte der Koelner Malerschule,* Luebeck, 1902, p. 256/74, (*Publikationen fuer rheinische Geschichte,* XIII); documents inform us that the altar of the Holy Cross was dedicated in 1500; there was in Cologne since the 9th century a convent for girls dedicated to Saint Cecilia, but from there no representations of the saint have come down to us; C. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.,* no. 119.

[51] L. Scheibler & K. Aldenhoven, *op. cit.,* nos. 83 and 91; the master of the altar of St. Bartholomew belongs to the school of Cologne; his origin, even the country of his origin is unknown.

[52] C. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.,* no. 38; Pr. Guéranger, *op. cit.,* p. 538.

[53] Valeri Maleguzzi, *"Nuovi documenti", Archivio storico dell' arte,* VII, 1894, p. 367.

him from conducting the High Mass *quia cantavit ita ut omnes riserint*" [54].

Raphael's picture has the form of a *Sacra Conversazione* [55]; in the center Cecilia, at the left St. Paul and St. John the Evangelist; at the right St. Augustine and Mary Magdalene. All saints have their characteristic attributes: Paul the sword, St. John the eagle, St. Augustine the crozier, and Mary Magdalene the ointment jar. The background is a sombre bank of clouds, broken by a strong light from heaven. There appear six angels singing from part books.

Earlier Raphael had painted two Cecilias. One, known from the engraving of Marcantonio Raimondi, belonged to the mural decoration for the papal villa of La Magliana at Rome (around 1510) [56]; it represents the martyrdom of the saint. The other Cecilia, of somewhat uncertain identity [57], appears on the altarpiece of the Madonna which Raphael had painted in 1504 for the nuns of St. Antonio at Perugia. Here the saint has a palm branch. She does not look at the Madonna, nor at the public, but halfway out of the picture [58].

In the Bologna picture the saint is holding a small organ, the manuals between her hands; the instrument is tilted as if slipping from her hands [59]. At her feet, in the foreground are several musical instruments, some of them not in playable condition, for instance a viola da gamba without strings.

As Vasari reports [60], these instruments were painted by Giovanni da Udine. In a sketch for the picture from Raphael's hand the instruments are in sound shape and do not make the impression of having been discarded [61]. On a rather crude engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi [62] after the picture, a music book is added to the instruments on the floor,

[54] Oskar Fischel, *Raphael* (transl. H. Rackham), London, 1948, I, p. 245.

[55] Georg Gronau, Raffael, (*Klassiker der Kunst*), 4. ed., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1919, p. 237; Wilhelm Emil Suida, *Raphael,* London, 1941, pl. 68; Sergio Ortolani, *Raffael,* Bergamo, 1938, p. 123.

[56] Karl Justi, *"Raphael's heilige Caecilia", Zeitschrift fuer christliche Kunst,* 1904, XVII, pp. 130, 570.

[57] W. E. Suida, *op. cit.,* p. 31.

[58] G. Gronau, *op. cit.,* p. 18; S. Ortolani, *op. cit.,* p. 20; W. E. Suida, *op. cit.,* pl. 90/92, p. 31.

[59] Through the position of the instrument some pipes have been dislodged; this does not mean that the organ is broken, and can happen if such a small organ is held in this way.

[60] Vasari, *Vite,* Terza Parte, vol. 2, in the edition Bologna, 1647, II, p. 30 sq.

[61] L. Castellani, *"L'estasi di S. Cecilia di Raffaello", Arte cristiano,* XXIII, 1935, Nov.; Lionel Charmer, *The original sketch of Saint Cecilia,* Buenos Aires, 1927, (not available).

[62] Bartsch 116; W. E. Suida, *op. cit.* p. 12; Vilhelm Wanscher, *Raffaello Santi,* London, 1926, p. 129, pl. VIII.

the pipes of the organ are not sliding out, and some of the angels in heaven are playing on instruments (a harp and a viola da braccio). Groups of musical instruments lying on the floor were a popular motif in pictures of scholars, and especially of personifications of "Music"; thus we see a very similar group of instruments in a Florentine engraving of c. 1470 where "Music" is represented playing a recorder; there is a small organ among the instruments on the floor [63].

Though the saints in Raphael's picture are standing quietly, there seems a drama latent in the situation. This has apparently led to the interpretation, quite popular today, that the painting represents the contrast either between church and secular music, or between vocal and instrumental music [64]. I do not believe that either of these views does justice to Raphael's idea. If Raphael had wanted to show a kind of contrast between opposite realms of music, I am sure that he would have expressed it in the attitude of the saints. Actually the only possible sign of such a disagreement is that Cecilia looks upwards and Saint Paul downwards toward the instruments on the floor. Nor does the tradition of the different realms of music, as distinguished in Raphael's time, correspond to such an interpretation. The realms then current were: *musica celestis,* meaning music of the spheres; *musica humana,* meaning vocal music; and *musica instrumentalis.* In the painting, *musica humana* would have to coincide with heavenly music or *musica celestis.* Nor does the development of music in Raphael's time recognize a strict division between vocal and instrumental music. Far into the 16th century most of the titles of music books state, "to be played *or* sung". Thus the interpretation of a contest, as suggested for instance by Justi, does not fit. What, then, is the sense of the painting?

The key figure for a solution seems to me to be Saint Cecilia. She appears as a person who has made music, who has just played on her organ. She looks up and almost lets the instrument slide from her hands, as if her playing did not satisfy her. She stands quietly, and seems to concentrate on an inner vision. This we may regard as the attitude of an artist trying to give form to an ideal inner picture or vision. We feel this conception clearly if we compare Raphael's Cecilia with the earlier representations in the panel at Karlstein castle or by the Master of the altar of St. Bartholomew. There the organ is solely an attribute, so that the attitude of the saint would be the same if she had a book, a wheel, or an ointment jar instead. Raphael's Cecilia seems to be in a state of inner rapture, and the words from her Acts *"in corde suo"* come to our mind.

[63] Georg Kinsky, *A History of Music in Pictures,* London, 1930, p. 97, no. 1; the original in the Museum Boijmans, Rotterdam.

[64] K. Justi, *loc. cit.,* begins his discussion with "a catastrophe has happened".

This phrase recurs, as we have mentioned, in the Office of the saint, and also, almost verbatim, in the *Legenda Aurea.* In one version of the golden legend of Cecilia, one sentence is added: *Cum esset symphonia instrumentorum illa in corde suo Domino psallabat* [65]. Since the harmony of the instruments, that is the music, was in her heart, she sang to God. Raphael probably knew the text of the Office of the saint as well as the *Legenda Aurea.* His saint does not sing, *non psallat;* but *in corde suo* this Cecilia feels how the music which she wants to play should sound; and as what she has played does not correspond to her vivion, she lets the instrument slide from her hands, as if it were insufficient.

In a way the picture illustrates the words from the legend of the saint. We have found that the text of the antiphon, taken from the Acts, had been popular for centuries, that during the early Middle Ages the understanding was that Cecilia became a saint turning away from the pagan organ. Nevertheless the relation of Cecilia to the organ was kept alive. In the early centuries the organ in Cecilia's hands could stand as the discarded pagan instrument. In the course of the 15th century this idea gave rise to the image of Cecilia performing music herself. This would explain why she was elected the patroness of a musicians' guild in 1496. This image developed in accordance with the actual conditions of musical life as the painter saw it in his surroundings. From the 12th century on a woman could perform music herself without committing a deadly sin, and even a saint could play an organ. By that time the use of that instrument was permitted in the church. From the 8th and 9th century on the organ became a popular instrument in the liturgy [66], from the 13th century on in the small size as carried on the arm [67].

From the 14th century on we see angel orchestras in numerous paintings, and usually the organ is one of the instruments played, as in the paintings of Memling, of Andrea da Firenze (Triumph of the Church), and Fra Angelico [68]. In the painting the "Garden of Paradise" (Germany,

[65] O. Fischel, *op. cit.,* I, p. 245.

[66] Norbert Dufourcq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'orgue en France,* Paris, 1935, p. 32/34; for the portative, p. 26 sqq.; Edward Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen,* Leipzig, 1903, p. 52 sqq.

[67] E. Buhle, *op. cit.,* p. 75.

[68] Karl Voll, Memling (*Klassiker der Kunst*), Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1909, p. 2 sq., 31, 122; G. Kinsky, *op. cit.,* p. 50, fig. 3; R. v. Marle, *op. cit.,* III, p. 428, fig. 245; Frieda Schottmueller, Fra Angelico, (*Klassiker der Kunst*), Stuttgart-Berlin, 1911, pp. 5, 30, 38, 92; in the pictures 'Christ surrounded by angels in the midst of the blessed' from S. Domenico at Fiesole, and in the 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the Uffizi, the organ playing angels form the center of the orchestra; on the 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the Louvre, there is a St. Cecilia with a crown as emblem.

c. 1400) [69], the figure of a holy woman playing with the Child, and giving him her psaltery, has been named Saint Cecilia. The psaltery is the instrument typical for David, or for an angel, but never for Cecilia. The idea of a musician among the society in the Garden of Paradise is influenced by representations of the secular gardens of love which include generally one or two musicians. Though it is very unlikely that Raphael knew the pictures of Cecilia with the organ North of the Alps, it is almost certain that he had seen the works of Andrea da Firenze and Fra Angelico at Florence, and perhaps the book by Bergomensis.

To find whether our interpretation of Raphael's Cecilia as a musician is right, let us compare her with other figures of musicians in Raphael's paintings, with his Apollo in the Parnassus fresco in the *stanza della segnatura* and with Poetry on the ceiling of that room. The Apollo has a somewhat similar attitude, looking halfway up, listening to his own playing. He gives the impression of an artist concentrating on his inner inspiration.

The figure of Poetry is different. Here we have the source of inspiration, not the image of the artist in the act of creating. Raphael has given her wings, and she holds a Cithara of classical form, suggested by ancient sculpture or vase painting. The three other symbolic figures on the ceiling, Justice, Theology and Philosophy, have no wings. Probably we have to see in the winged Poetry the influence of a musician angel. The motto of Poetry reads *Numine afflavit;* this is the condensed motto which usually accompanies one of the sibyls, e.g. on the Ghent altar [70]; it is taken from the famous prophetic verses in Vergil's Aeneid [71]. The inspiration for the figure of Poetry derives from this source, from the Muses of antiquity, and from the *Musica* among the liberal arts.

Thus in Raphael's time we have a meeting of different images: Saint Cecilia with the organ, the angel with the organ, the Muse and *Musica,* and the woman musician as she existed now in reality. It is the greatness of Raphael to have been able to fuse such different elements into a new symbolic figure. This seems to explain the fascination of Raphael's image of the saint, represented in the state of musical inspiration, which comes from the clouds and the chorus of singing angels, and from the vision within.

From the 16th century on Cecilia, the saint of music and musicians,

[69] Frankfurt, Main, Staedelsches Museum; Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst,* Berlin, 1921, II, p. 194 sq.; a similar representation, a Madonna with two angels holding the psalterium for the Child, by Wilhelm von Herle in: Curt Moreck (i.e. Konrad Haemmerling), *Musik in der Malerei,* Muenchen, 1924, pl. 1.

[70] Max J. Friedlaender, *Altniederlaendische Malerei,* Berlin, 1924, I, p. 34.

[71] Book VI, 50.

became the topic of several poems, some of which are still popular. She has become the patroness of numerous musical societies, guilds, institutions and schools, and she has been represented as a musician in numerous paintings.

In the role of patroness of musical guilds we have met her in Louvain in 1496; we find her in 1549 at Mons, 1585 (and 1588) in Ypres, 1615 (and 1650) in Breda, although these dates do not necessarily indicate her very first appearance in these places; we are citing the first documented references [72]. In 1571 a musical festival, Puy de Musique, was established at Evreux, to be celebrated every year on the 22nd day of November under the auspices of Saint Cecilia [73]. A solemn mass was celebrated, followed by a banquet. A competition took place, and prizes were awarded for the best composition. Many famous names, such as Orlando di Lasso, are among the competitors. Similar festivals were held in England, France and Germany until late in the 19th century. In England this custom reached a remarkable height around 1700. Odes were written for the celebration by many poets, such as Dryden, Congreve and Pope; they were set to music by Purcell (1683 and 1692), Blow (1684, 1695 and 1700) and Handel (1736 and 1739), to name some of the best known works. In Germany Spohr wrote a Hymn to St. Cecilia in 1823 for a Cecilian Society. In France Gounod wrote a mass for this kind of festival in honor of Cecilia in 1855, and Ambroise Thomas in 1857. In 1580 Palestrina founded the Society of St. Cecilia, earliest so far as we know, and with Giovanni Maria Nanini, a school of St. Cecilia, especially intended to promote church music. The school is still in existence, and the Conservatory of music at Rome stands likewise under the patronage of the saint. In 1867 Franz Xaver Witt founded a *Caecilien-Verein* with the special aim of furthering the *a cappella* style in the liturgy [74]. Countless choral societies in our own time are named after the saint.

The representations of Cecilia in painting follow more or less the model of Raphael, showing Cecilia as a musician performing music. The painters emphasize either the social aspect of the performance, a musician giving a concert, or they show an enraptured musician in the act of composing [75]. Generally the instrument is an organ, but it may be replaced by a harpsichord, a lute or a cello. Nearest to Raphael in form is the representation of the saint by Garofalo (Rome). Carlo Dolci (Leningrad)

[72] E. v. d. Straeten, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 131, 179.

[73] William H. Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries,* London, 1857; G. Grove, *loc. cit.;* P. Scholes, *loc. cit.*

[74] Anton Walter, *Franz Xaver Witt,* Regensburg, 1889.

[75] C. Moreck, *op. cit.* pl. 14, 33, 37, 42, 45, 53, 63, 67.

Guarini's pictures (Madrid and Naples) might have the title 'a concert', with the saint at the harpsichord, and little *putti* singing and holding garlands (an echo of the wedding crown of roses). Domenichino (Louvre), Rubens (Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum), Thomas Willeborth (Augsburg) and Gerard of Honthorst (Kassel, Gemaelde-Gallerie) show an artist in ecstasy, rapt with inspiration. In the pictures of Rubens and Honthorst the saint plays the organ, in those of Domenichino and Willeborth a cello. Bernardo Cavallino [76] has painted a picture that is like an elaboration or paraphrase of Raphael's. The saint is shown falling on her knees, and it looks as if an object (a musical instrument?) had slidden from her hands. Cecilia looks up to an angel who is about to crown her with a wreath. "Her lips are parted as though to inhale the sweet intoxication of her own music." Behind the saint, in the shadow, we see a figure playing on a flute, in the foreground on the floor a viola da braccio with a bow, a wind instrument and a part book, and at the left bottom corner the back of a chest which might represent an organ console.

Orazio Gentileschi [77] produced two pictures of the saint; they are of particular interest because they show the two aspects of the tradition. One picture "Cecilia and the angel" (formerly ascribed to Carlo Bononi) represents an idea resembling that of Raphael. The saint plays a lute; an angel holding a cello seems to give her advise what she should play. In shows her as the portrait of a lady at the organ. Poussin's and Franceso the foreground we see musical instruments on the floor: a cornet, a recorder and a violin, also a music book; the instruments are in good shape, and similar in arrangement to Raphael's sketch. The other picture [78] gives a scene from the legend, Valerian and Tiburtius overwhelmed by the apparition of an angel which Cecilia points out to them. We have here, as late as 1620, a survival of the non-musical tradition of Cecilia, painted by the same artist who 20 years earlier had represented Cecilia as a musician.

In poetry, too, we have as late as 1594 *La trionfatrice Cecilia, Vergine e Martire Romana* by Castelletti [79] as an exemple of the non-musical tradition. Most of the poems, however, especially those written for the festivals, do mention music. The most impressive version is probably in Dryden's text for Handel's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day' [80]. Here the power

[76] Aldo de Rinaldis, *Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Catalogo,* Naples, 1928, no. 285, pl. 57 (Cavallino); no. 293 (Franc. Guarini).

[77] Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom,* Berlin, 1924, pp. 110, 112; Orazio Gentileschi, i.e. Aurelio Lomi, 1565-1622.

[78] The picture, painted c. 1600, is today in the Corsini collection at Rome.

[79] Grove, *loc. cit.*

[80] Haendel, *Werke,* Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, XII.

of music is depicted as it arouses all kinds of moods, idyllic peace as well as the fierce fury of war. The climax has the saint descending from heaven to bring music to its deepest and purest power, in the chorus: "From heaven came Cecilia". In this vision the two ideas of Raphael as given in the figure of Saint Cecilia and of Poetry seem combined, the musician and the embodiment of music [81].

New Rochelle, New York

[81] The story of „St. Job as Patron of Music" was published in *The Art Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1954, p. 21.

THE LIGATURES OF THE MONTPELLIER MANUSCRIPT

LUTHER DITTMER

A study of the ligatures of the Motet Manuscript, Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine H-196, and their comparison with the earlier sources, permit us to trace the development of the modal concept of notation into the classical mensural-notation of the Franconian period. Mensural notation requires that the rhythmic value of the individual note be determined directly by its external form. Modal [1] notation conveyed its rhythmic meaning by the order and manner in which the ligatures were arranged (sine litera) or by the meter of the text (cum litera). Our codex, in contradistinction to the older sources, carefully distinguishes the simplex-notes according to mensural precepts; but various metric ambiguities of the ligatures had, however, not been clarified; remnants of older notational practice are maintained next to later clichés. By means of a qualitative analysis of the usage and frequency of the various meanings of the ligatures we are able to trace this historical development.

The only previous special study of the notation of the Montpellier manuscript (O. Koller, *VfMW* IV 1888, pp. 1-82) is, unfortunately, almost completely worthless; however not even Ludwig (*SIMG* V 1903- 4, pp. 200-1) chose to challenge the results adduced by Koller at the end of the latter's fourth chapter (p. 32)[2].

The incompleteness and inaccuracy of Koller's study can be attributed to the following three reasons: (1) Koller based his study on only the 50 examples published by E. de Coussemaker (*L'Art Harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles,* 1865). It is well known that Coussemaker's choice was

[1] The term 'Quadratnotation' (square notation) introduced by F. Ludwig in his *Repertorium* (*LR* p. 47) is inexpressive of the nature of this notation, describing merely its external form. The terms 'Modusschrift' (Michalitschke, *Theorie des Modus* p. 40 ff) or 'Modale Notation' (Handschin, *ZfMW* VI 1923-4, p. 548 Note 2, and p. 558) better convey the meaning of a notation which, in expressing the rhythmic modes, does not apply formal variations to the notational symbols, as in the Mss of *LR* 1, 1.

[2] Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* I pp. 242-3, merely repeats and accepts Koller's theses and (*chose inexplicable!*) Y. Rokseth *Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle,* 4 Vols. 1935-9 fails completely to discuss the notation of the Montpellier manuscript.

often the result of personal bias; for example, he was greatly interested in the four-part motets of the second fascicle, to the neglect of the two-part French motets of the sixth fascicle, from which 75 he only published two examples. Therefore, in judging Koller's work one must first appraise the merits of Coussemaker's choice of composition and method of transcription. (2) Koller made no distinction between the notation of the upper voices and of the Tenor, although the notation of the textless Tenores (sine litera) must be fundamentally different from that of the declamatory upper voices (cum litera). (3) Koller took the theoretical treatises as authoritative for his study and tried to explain the various notational stages as the personal contributions of the various theorists.

The notating of Mo was the work of 14 different hands (cf. Rokseth IV 30 and G. Jacobsthal, *ZfRom. Phil* III, p. 534). The main part of the manuscript, fascicles II-VI, often called the 'Old Corpus', was the work of one hand; likewise the main parts of the VIIth and VIIIth fascicles, containing motets of a later style, were each the work of one hand. The notating of the first fascicle, as well as the appendix to the third fascicle, was the result of different but contemporaneous hands.

Notational procedure differentiated between the 'notatio sine litera' used for the notating of textless musical sections, like the long Organa-melismata over a single syllable, and the 'notatio cum litera' used for the upper voices of the motet with their rhythmic text declamation. Normally this resulted, in the notation of the cantus firmus settings (Organa), in long chains of Binariae and Ternariae; and in that for the Motets, in successions of simplex-notes. Many of the refinements of the mensural notation, however, owe their origin to their development within the 'Notatio sine litera'; W 2 (Wolfenbüttel Helm. (1099), for example, is partly mensural in those fascicles containing cantus firmus settings, but notates the compositions with rhythmic text in successions of undifferentiated Virgae.

The basic rhythmic nature of the Notre-Dame music was expressed by a system of rhythmic modes. In the 'notatio sine litera' the rhythmic mode was determined by the order and arrangement of the ligatures. (*LR* 42-52). According to the mensural version of the cantus firmus settings, contained in Mo I, the following modes are admissable: 1st Mode (♩♩♩♩), 2nd Mode[3] (♩♩♩♩), 3rd Mode (♩.♩♩♩.), 5th mode (♩.♩.♩.) in the lowest voice and 6th mode (♩♩♩♩)[4]. In general the notation of a mode

[3] Cf. The opening of the verse in 'Alleluia Posui' (Rokseth II, p. 33).

[4] The complaint has been justifiably lodged (R. v. Ficker: *Acta Musicologica* XVIII-XIX 1946-7, p. 6) against H. Husmann's transcription of the three- and four-part Notre-Dame (Gesamtausgabe (abbr. *GA)* in *Publikationen älterer Musik* XI 1940) that the latter has applied the sixth mode in many cases where it is not ap-

consists of an initial (or final) ligature (or simplex) and a chain of equal binariae or ternariae; thus; 1st mode (ternaria plus chain-binariae); 2nd mode (chain-binariae plus ternaria), 3rd mode (simplex plus chain-ternariae), 6th mode (simplex or quaternaria plus chain-ternariae). The composer (organista) had the priviledge 'pro pulchritudine', however, of interrupting the regular rhythmic flow at any point by splitting any rhythmic value, and replacing it with its metric equivalent (aequipollentia). This rhythmic alteration necessitated adjustments in the arrangements of the ligatures; thus in the first mode the splitting (frangere vel dividere) of a brevis (or longa) necessitated the substitution of a ternaria for the chain-binaria. The concept of substitution is closely allied with the idea of modal reduction (reductio modi). As the following statement from Garlandia shows (*C.S.* I 98b, cf. Anon. IV *C.S.* I 338b) the 'Longa trium temporum' of the oblique (3rd, 4th and 5th) modes is equal to, and can be replaced

plicable. (i.e. in those cases in which neither a simplex nor a quarternaria precedes the chain of ternariae as in 'Sederunt' (*GA* p. 29 meas. 2-7). The sixth mode is, as *LR* 51 points out, difficult to recognise, because its ligature arrangement parallels that of the third mode. There is, however, one phrase in the 'Alleluia, Posui', attributed to Perotinus, which is in the sixth mode according to the testimony of two theorists: Garlandia (Coussemaker, *Scriptores* (Abbr. *C.S.*) I 101b) and Anonymous IV (*C.S.* I 374b) as well as according to the mensural version of Mo I. (A further description of the 'Alleluia Posui', contained in Anon. IV's treatise (*C.S.* I 361b) refers to the Copula (Rokseth II p. 32 meas. 24-28, *GA* meas. 24-27), and describes the first irregular mode. This mode substitutes a Duplex-Longa for the first Ordo of the normal first mode, and then continues in the normal fashion. It is not clear why H. Husmann (Dissertation (Maschinenschrift) Berlin 1935, p. 14) so catagorically denies this Anonymous knowledge of the version in F. (Florence Bibl. Laur. pluteus 29, 1). This version corresponds melodically to this Anon.'s description in that it includes the plicated 'c' at the end, missing in Mo I. The dissention seems to arise from the initial ternaria in F, which, according to Husmann (*GA* 104) must be transcribed as normal first mode. This may, however, be a further nuance of the modal notation, which possibly concealed the Duplex-Longa in such a position in just such a ligature). The participating voices are notated 41i 31i 31i . . . The salient feature of this notation is that the last note of the ligatures is the consonating or accentuated note. (According to Anon. IV's terminology (*C.S.* I 334-5) the final note of each sixth-mode ligature begins the new Pes or Tenor Longa). Opposed to this notation are successions of plicated binariae, an avowed division of the first or second modes, where the penultimate note concords with the other voices, and where the sixth mode cannot be considered an independant mode. There is no reason for assuming an internal rhythmic relationship between the third and the independant sixth mode because they form their chain-ligatures in the same manner. Undoubtedly, ternariae indicate merely that two unaccentuated notes precede the accentuated or the longer note. Although the presence of the sixth mode in the cantus firmus settings has been proved, the greater frequency of the third mode in the mensurally notated sources urges great caution in the application of the sixth mode in the transcription of cantus firmus settings available only in modal notation.

by an Ordo of a Modus Rectus (1st, 2nd and 6th) [5]. "Quare tertius modus et quartus potius reducuntur ad secundum, quam ad primum. Sed quintus indifferenter ad primum et secundum potest reduci, unde quintus modus constat ex omnibus longis. Et sic quelibet longa es ante aliam longam; quare quelibet valet tria tempora confuse et non distincte, et sic valet longam et brevem vel e converso."

Modal reduction and rhythmic substitution resulted in the modal notation in an hypertrophy of metric meanings for the ligatures. A table

[5] R. v. Ficker (*Op. cit.* 4 ff) has advanced the theory that the third and fourth) rhythmic modes were originally variations of a ternary measure (𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥), and are, thus, to be measured in 3/2 (3/4) rhythm not in 6/8. His proof, all of an inductive nature, is based on the statement (cited above) of Garlandia and similar statements by Anon. IV *(G. S.* I 330a & 338b) that the third could be interpreted in the manner of the first mode (𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥.) as well as on the similarity in the arrangement of the ligatures between the sixth and the third modes (cf. note 4). While there is no direct proof supporting the highly improbable assumption of Ficker, that the original ternary rhythm was altered by dotting the first note, thereby creating the third mode, there is quite a good deal of evidence from practical al well as theoretical sources which would tend to substantiate an original binary form (𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥) for the third (and fourth) modes (cf. J. Handschin, *ZfMW* VI 1923, p. 558 and *Musica Disciplina* III 1949, pp. 72-78 and L. Dittmer, *Musica Disciplina* VII 1953, pp. 39-57). For further evidence supporting this hypothesis cf. Note 8. As concerns the irregular rhythmic interpretation of the third mode, there are two further statements which support its presence, especially in England. (Anon. IV *C. S.* I 328a & 346b) an example of this rhythmic interpretation is offered by Mo V 95, discussed but not completely understood by H. Husmann (Diss. Mas. Sch., p. 22). This motet, whose music is derived from the three-voice clausula 'In Odorem' (cf. *LR* pp. 36, 64, 112, 136, 183) is, as the mensural version of Ba 62 (P. Aubry, *Cent Motets du 13e Siècle*) shows, completely in first mode. At quite a few places (*GA* 148-9) passages occur which are apparently indicative of the third mode (simplex plus chain ternariae). In the motet version of Mo, furthermore, these passages (as e.g. Triplum meas. 83 ff) are notated LBBL (as compared with LLBL in Ba), and are undoubtedly the alternate rhythmic interpretation of the third mode. (This motet should have been assigned by Rokseth (*Op. cit.* IV 140) to the same epoch as the 'Ex Semine' excerpt (Mo IV 62) from the 'Alleluia Nativitas'). A further instance of this mode is present in Mo III 42. In the Motetus (meas. 30-42) there is a series of musical phrases which are to be interpreted as 𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥. in deference to the upper voice. As a Clausula (F f. 174') these passages are again noted si 31i 31i ... In the version Hu (f. 92) H. Anglès, *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas*) where only the motetus is included, these ligatures, broken up into simplex-notes, are notated LBBL. H. Anglès, despite the other sources, transcribes this section as regular third mode, whereas this may well be another case of the third mode being reduced to the first. The use of the cum opposita proprietate (abbr. C.O.P.) binaria for the brevis duorum temporum in both of these motets, a use which outside of the apparent mistake in Mo II 22 is used only in the third mode, further substantiates the presence of the (irregular) third mode. Cf. Niemann, *Beiheft VI der IMG,* 1902 138-9, Handschin, *Mus. Disc.* V, p. 71 and G. Kuhlmann, *Die zweistimmigen Motetten des Kodex Montpellier,* p. 102 as well as Note 8).

of the various usages and their formal equivalents in Mo I illustrates these variegated meanings and the development of Mensural forms.

Binariae

♫ Substitute for Brevis Recta
♩♩ Substitute for Longa Imperfecta
♩𝅗𝅥 Chain Ligature (Modes one and two)

Ternariae

♫♫ Substitute for Brevis Recta
♫♩ Substitute for Longa Imperfecta
♫𝅗𝅥 Substitute for Longa Perfecta (a) and
♩♩♩ Substitute for Longa Perfecta (b)
♩𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 Chain Ligature (Modes three and four)
𝅗𝅥♩𝅗𝅥 Initial Ternaria (Mode one)
♩𝅗𝅥♩ Final Ternaria (Mode two)

Conjuncturae *According to Mo II-VI*

♫♫ Substitute for Brevis Recta
♫♩ Substitute for Longa Imperfecta
♫𝅗𝅥 Substitute for Longa Perfecta (a) and

♩♩♩ Substitute for Longa Perfecta (b) Ligature forms used
♩𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 Chain ligature (Third and Fourth Modes) Ligature forms used
𝅗𝅥♩𝅗𝅥 Initial Ternaria (first Mode) Ligature Forms used
♩𝅗𝅥♩ Final Ternaria (Second Mode) Ligature Forms used

Accordingly, the ligature forms of the square modal-notation were preserved only in their normal metric meaning as chain ligatures; substitute forms were created, in accordance with mensural principles, to indicate other rhythmic nuances. Consequently, the order and the arrangement of the ligatures remains, at least in the normal cases, the same. Conjunctura forms have dissappeared completely in Mo I, and only a few rhomboid notes are included in special meanings. [6] The fact that the notation of

[6] A certain degree of confusion about the nature of the Conjuncturae is present in both modern and mediaeval authors. F. Ludwig (*AfMW* V 228) has drawn attention to the fact that Franco, although he established a definite precedence for the mensural interpretation of all ligatures and simplex-notes, leaves the question of the Conjuncturae unsolved and unsettled. There are, originally, two sources and principles from which the use of disjunct ligatures (i.e. Conjuncturae) originates: (1) The historically correct form of the Climacus ( ). In this form the Conjunctura could

Mo I shows an advance over Mo II-VI does not in itself indicate the later origin of this fascicle. Mensural innovations were resisted for a longer period of time in the 'notatio cum litera' because of the presence of the rhythmic text, and since the significance of the ligatures in the 'notatio cum litera' was different, as no chain ligatures were present.

Since the fascicles II-VI form a unified stylistic whole, and since they are written by the same hand, we shall treat the notation of this so-called 'Old Corpus' as an unit. The presence of a rhythmic text reduced the individual metric values to one, two and three beats (tempora). In general, a syllable was expressed by a simplex-note. Three forms of the simplex are distinguished by the theorists and applied in the practice: longa, brevis and semibrevis. The longa, derived in form from the virga, is used to

be used wherever a descending ternaria was required. The ligated form of the descending ligature offered competition to the conjunctura, especially in the 'notatio sine litera' of W 2, F and Ma (Madrid Bibl. Nac. 20486), whereas the peripheral W 1 (Wolfenbüttel Helm. 628) prefers the conjunctura. In Mo I this form has been completely replaced by the ligature, which could more easily adapt itself to mensural notation. (2) The rhomboid additions (called currentes) which, as in the Square plain-chant notation, could be joined (jungere) to any ligature or simplex, splitting it, provided that they continued in a downward direction. (Anon. IV's statement (*C. S.* I 337a) that these 'currentes' occur in an ascending direction, is not borne out in practics before Mo VII. Indeed, it would be rather unusual, since the basic meaning of such a 'punctum' is the lower tone). Theoretically (cf. Anon. IV *C. S.* I 336-339 and Niemann, *Op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff) all the rhomboid currentes relate to the previous ligature and can be reduced (reducere) to a basic modal form. In practice, however, this is not always the case; descending notes were often suffixed not to indicate the splitting of the final note of the ligature, but to join a following independent ligature to a previous one. Thus the group was often notated . Furthermore, not all diminutions, but only those which fell on the final note of a ligature, and only in a descending direction, could be notated with the aid of currentes. In all other cases substitute ligatures were used, as even in Anon. IV's example (*C. S.* I 337a) of the splitting of the initial longa of the first mode (substitution of a quinternaria for a ternaria). In recent times. H. Husmann (Diss. pp. 19-27) has tried to classify the ligatures and currentes. This author, after failing to make a clear distinction between the two origins of the rhomboid notes, feels that ligatures may be divided into two categories: those which are complete in themselves (Groups B, C, D, and E) and those which 'lean' on another ligature or simplex (Group A). Among the independent ligatures the 'B' and 'C' groups have the total value of a longa (Perfecta?), the difference being that the 'B' group divides the brevis into two Semibreves, the 'C' group into three, Husmann's difference between the 'D' and 'E' ligatures, whose total value in 2 longae (perfectae) is that the primary division of the 'D' ligature is the division of the brevis recta, in the 'E' ligature the division of the brevis altera (longa perfecta?). It would have been much more to the point, had this author reduced all such ligatures to their basic modal chain-ligature forms as urged by the theorists, noting especially the irregular ligature arrangements that sometimes resulted. (cf. *LR* 48-9).

denote both the long note of the third mode (longa perfecta, which contains three beats) and the long note of the first two modes (longa imperfecta, which contains two beats). The brevis, formally identical with the punctum is used to denote the short note of the first, second or third mode (brevis recta, which contains one beat) and the second short note of the third mode (brevis altera, which contains two beats). The semibrevis, likewise a punctum and occasionally used as a simplex-form in the English plain-chant notation (cf. F. Ludwig, *AfMW* 1923 274-5), is only rarely used as an independant rhythmic value in Mo II-VI [7].

A ligature may be substituted for any simplex. The purpose of a ligature in the 'notatio cum litera' is, in contradistinction to its usage in the cantus firmus settings, to introduce short musical ornamentations (pulchritudines) and diminutions (colores) over a rhythmic text syllable; these melodic groupings rarely contained repeated tones and consequently could be notated as ligatures. We have classified the ligatures in our tables according to the metric value of the simplex for which they are substituted and according to whether the division is into two notes or three.

Six modes is the standard tabulation of the theorists. The first and second modes are by far the most usual rhythms. The third mode, not quite so popular as in the cantus firmus settings, is still used. The fourth mode, a variant of the third, seems not to have been used on the continent. The fifth mode is used exclusively for the Tenor Longae (but cf. Motets Mo V 168 and V 175 whose texts are written almost completely in heavy conductus rhythm) and the sixth mode is used occasionally in the Triplum.

Because of functional and notational differences among the modes, we have separated the motets in our study according to their rhythmic mode. (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 6th). Our table includes a composite tabulation of all the ligatures used in the upper voices of Mo II-VI (Nos. 19-252) with the exception of Mo III 51-54 (appendix to the third fascicle and written at a later time), Mo V 73 (an hoquetus), Mo V 177 = Mo VII 266 (written at a later time) and those few cases where either the music is missing or only one voice is present.

A Brevis-Recta Simplex is regularly replaced by a ligature of two or three notes. In the case of division into two notes the usual forms are . The combination with the Plica occurs in the form . At some final cadences we meet the form , which might suggest the possibility of a rallentando at the end of the composition, since the ligature used here is mostly reserved in Mo II-VI for the division of the longa.

[7] G. Kuhlmann (*Op. cit.*, p. 105) has drawn attention to the independent (syllabic) semibreves in Mo VI 217 meas. 66 and 68. Semibreves are furthermore present in V 77 = V 144 and V 143 and occasionally in other motets.

For the division into three notes we have the forms Forms without the upward drawn tractus occur frequently mostly in the case of the ascending ligature. In one case the ligated form replaces the conjunctura, whose two forms are occasionally confused. Extended forms are often used just before the final cadence.

The division of the Longa Imperfecta into two notes, as it appears in the first and second modes is . In the third mode, where the Brevis Altera has two beats, its division into two notes yields such forms as alongside of those used in the first and second modes [8].

In those cases in which a three-note ligature occupies the space of two beats, the conjunctura form of the descending ligature is mostly used. It is significant that the descending form is used more than all other directional possibilities combined. (1059 as opposed to 421 cases in Mo II-VI). In those cases in which the other directional possibilities are applied, they are always notated in ligatures. The notator is relatively uncertain in his application of the tractus; often he draws it upwards; often in the case of the ascending and the ascending-descending ternariae it is left out, as had been normal in Modal notation; in several cases the notator draws the

[8] Based on the statement of Pseudo-Aristoteles *(C. S.* I 274a) 'Quod si aliquando (ligatura duarum figuram tam ascendo, quam ascendo retinens proprietatem non propriam) pro altera brevi ponantur, tunc enim duo tempora compleantur' as well as the polemics raised by the Munich Anonymous (abbr. *Anon. Sowa*) H. Sowa *Ein anonymer Glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279*, pp. 48-49 & 63). I came to the conclusion that the original meaning of the upward drawn tractus was to show that this ligature had the total metric value of a brevis, whether this brevis be recta or altera. Undoubtedly there is a certain justification for this in the practice which first segregated the binary division of the brevis from that of the longa, only then differentiated between the longa perfecta and the longa imperfecta. Opposed to this assumption, I found 10 examples of the C.O.P. in the already partially mensural sections of W 2 (f. 9' (I) 2 x; f. 15 (I) 1 x; f. 50' 1 x; f. 53' (V) 1 x; f. 65 (III) 3 x; f. 66 (V) 1 x; f. 67 (II) 1 x). These cases are all substitute descending ligatures for the chain binariae of the first mode. W 2 f. 66 (V) substitutes two ternariae for the normal chain-ternaria of the third mode. The upward drawn tractus is applied to one of the ternariae which would otherwise be notated as a binaria; however, the metric meaning SSL, is the same as in the other examples; Husmann's transcription of f. 9' and f. 15 is at best, irregular). Since, to my knowledge, this is the first apparent formal use of the 'opposita proprietas' it is probable that its original meaning, as reiterated by the theorists, was the specification of the semibrevis. It is, furthermore, significant that the inverted tractus was first applied to the problematic climacus (cf. note 6) undoubtedly a further usurpation by the ligature, here necessarily specialized by the tractus, of the use and meaning of the conjunctura, which had been used more and in the sense of substitute and not chain-ligatures. It has been suggested by Niemann (*Op. cit.* 138-9) that the presence of the Binaria cum Opposita Proprietate as a substitute for the brevis altera, reflects older notational practice in which the brevis altera had only one beat. (cf. note 5).

tractus completely through the head of the descending-ascending ternaria. This apparent inconsistency in notation may be the direct result of the work of copying the various motets from different sources and transcribing them into mensural notation. It is obvious that there was no single source for this manuscript. None of the extant manuscripts possesses such a great variety or quantity of motets. The various origins (e.g. England) plus the conscious classification system indicates this likelihood. Indeed, motets from the same source are generally placed near each other, but the alphabetical arrangement of the Motetus texts, which is typical of the older Notre-Dame Mss, is lacking here. The notator of our manuscript made a clear distinction between longa and brevis Simplex-notes, but was not so thorough in the application of mensural principles to the ligatures. It is probable that Mo II-XI represents an advanced state of notation over the various sources; Ludwig feels (*SIMG* V 201) that the third and fourth fascicles (those which contain the three-part motets with both Latin and French/Latin texts) are closest to the original notation.

The division of the longa perfecta resulted in two rhythmic groupings according to whether the division was B/L or L/B. Since in the classical motet style of Mo II-VI, as well as in the Notre-Dame 'Ersatzklauseln' these two conflicting meters were never mixed, there was no immediate reason for making a formal distinction between the two ligatures. There is, however, a marked tendency in Mo II-VI to draw a clear formal distinction between the L/B and the B/L relationship. The more usual relationship B/L which occured in both the second and normal third modes, preserved the normal form of the binaria, which had been measured in the 'notatio sine litera' in second as well as in first mode B/L. In addition to this form, the L/B binariae were often notated with an elongated initial head ( ). Elongation of the head of a note is, as *LR* 46 points out, the first graphic attempt to indicate mensuration. In the later fascicles such graphic extentions were replaced by the proprietas.

Although different formal variations to the ligature were applied to indicate clearly the difference between the L/B and B/L division, there was no apparent attempt made to draw a formal distinction between the binaria which divided the longa perfecta and that which divided the longa imperfecta [9], since the ligature could easily be read according to the mode, or according to the following rhythmic value.

[9] The fact that the same binaria is used for both the rhythmic division of the longa perfecta B/L as well as the longa imperfecta B/B misled O. Koller (*VfMW* IV pp. 24 ff) into believing that the concept of the Proprietas (initial brevis) is older than that of the Perfectio (final longa) since both of the here-named ligatures conform with the doctrine of the proprietas as expounded by the theorists but not with the perfectio. This contradicts our expectations, for outside of the C.O.P. which is

A disagreement exists among modern musicologists or the correct rhythmic interpretation of the division of the longa perfecta into three notes [10]. The most usual ligature is the descending one which appears as a conjunctura in the second and third modes ( ) and mostly as a ligatura sine perfectione in the first mode ( ). In the other melodic directions forms appear which are imperfect next to those which are perfect.

The usage of ligatures which have undergone deformations in accordance with mensural principles alongside of those inherited from the modal notation, indicates that the notation of the ligatures in Mo II-VI is not in a state of equilibrium. Tendencies are present which provided the impetus for the Franconian codification, but these tendencies are not so manifest to be able, at this stage, to absorb those forms, used in meanings typical of the former state of notation. The fact that this notation is in a state of change does not mean that it is ambiguous, but rather that the transition from the modal concept to the mensural notation is not complete.

The notation of the 7th and 8th fascicles shows the increased influence of the Franconian codification. The tendencies, manifest in Mo II-VI, have been normalized and a system of musical notation has been devised by which the internal metric values of a ligature can be read directly by means of its external form, without reference to a mode. A system of variations of the form of the ligature is used, which permits of alterations

only nominally related to the proprietas, the value of the initial note was seldom varied from a brevis; the final longa, on the contrary, quite often. Furthermore, when 'Sine Proprietate' forms are indicated they are only seldom notated in the fashion advocated by the theorists, who are, in any event, more closely related to the repertory of Mo VII than to Mo II-VI.

[10] Kuhlmann (*Op. cit.* 106 & 246) is of the opinion that the division of the longa perfecta into three notes results in every case and in every mode in B/B/B. This viewpoint is not shared by the mensural theorists. *Anon. Sowa* (p. 68) in his chapter on the conjuncturae (which he calls semibreves) writes 'Si autem pro longa trium temporum vel pro aliquo sibi aequipollente specialiter reponantur et sub eadem forma seu protractione, tunc ultima earum duo tempora continebit et duae precendentes unicum retinebunt'. Aristoteles (*C. S.* I 275a) in his seventh rhythmic interpretation of the ternaria, likewise illustrates the metric interpretation SSB and SSL by means of C.O.P. ligatures and the conjunctura. It is furthermore significant that in Mo II-VI the conjunctura replaces the perfect longa only in the second and third modes, the ligatura sine perfectione replacing it in the first mode, where the metric interpretation SSL is impossible. (5 of the 26 cases in which the conjunctura is used in the first mode are in the motet Mo V 95, whose notation is, in many details, similar to that expected for the irregular third mode). It may be noticed that the same phenomenon occurs in the Ms. Ba which is more consequently mensural than Mo. Internal evidence from the motets in question, furthermore, support this analysis. (Parallel strophes of certain motets in the second and third modes, which in one case elide an unaccentuated syllable and which are then notated with a conjunctura, have in the parallel line a C.O.P. binaria plus brevis (longa) duorum temporum.

to the inital tractus and final note. The variations to the initial part of the ligature were considered to determine the 'Proprietas'. Those forms considered 'Cum Proprietate' were those which with propriety held to the form and normal metric interpretation of the modal notation. Forms 'Sine Proprietate' varied the initial part of the ligatures inherited from plainchant notation. Those forms, whose tractus was directed upwards, in the opposite direction from the normal, were called 'Cum opposita Proprietate'. Variations to the final note of a ligature were considered to affect the 'Perfectio' of the ligature. Perfect ligatures were those whose final part was metrically and formally complete. Imperfect ligatures were those that ended metrically and formally on the penultimate. (The figura obliqua was part of the Porrectus ( ), the higher note to the right was part of the Scandicus and the Torculus ( )). The notation of Mo II-VI had created differences between ligatures solely to make formal distinctions and dispel ambiguities; the notation of Mo VII-VIII shows the result of the codification of these tendencies into a mensural system. Even among the theorists there was no unanimity in terminology; Aristotle, who in more than one way differs from the others, identifies the concept of the Proprietas with the presence or absence of the tractus. Accordingly his rules for the metric interpretation of the ligatures introduce the variable of melodic direction, thereby causing additional complications. Yet when his rules are reduced to Franconian terminology, Aristotle agrees with Franco that those forms which were inherited from the modal notation represent an initial brevis and a final longa.

The Proprietas was indicated by the presence or absence of the tractus. In the modal notation only those forms, whose second note was lower in pitch, were provided with tractus. The tractus, which may be traced back to the otherwise meaningless initial stroke, used in most neumatic notations, had fused itself with the head of the note in the ascending ligatures before the time in question. In the case of simplex notes the initial stroke was sometimes present (Virga) sometimes absent (Punctum). As has been indicated (cf. Note 9) the need for a Ligatura Sine Proprietate was not very great. In the 'Notatio sine litera' such a ligature appeared normally only at the beginning of the first mode, where in Mo I it was often notated as Si 21i. Perhaps from just such cases as did the use of the tractus to indicate the Proprietas originate.

A much broader application of the imperfect forma of the ligature was possible because of the increased usage of the Brevis at the end of a ligature. To an extent this increased usage was supported by the growing tendency to divide the metric values; the main reason for the increase in the number of imperfect forms, however, was the need for orthodoxy; the ligatures had to comply with certain other regulations of the mensural laws.

(1) 'Longa before longa (or equivalence) is perfect'. This rule was flexible enough to include both the normal case (third or fifth mode) as well as those cases in the first mode in which an unaccentuated short syllable was omitted and the previous accentuated long syllable was extended to fill the entire perfectio. This would be notated as 21i si instead of 21i 21i.

(2) 'Of two breves between longae, the first is worth one beat, the second two'. This rule was the direct result of the general procedure of the third mode which combined three metric values, while only two forms and therefore two terms are used. In the third mode both the brevis recta and the brevis altera were considered short notes in comparison to the longa perfecta. In the first mode the longa imperfecta was considered long when compared with the brevis recta. A satisfactory compromise was found in the motet notation when the principle of mensuration was carried through. Among the simplices, if a note having a metric value of two beats was placed before a longa or equivalence, then it was notated as a brevis, according to the tendency of the third mode. If, however, this note was succeeded by a single brevis, as was typical of the first mode, then this note was written as a longa. In the case of the ligatures this resulted in an imperfect ligature in the first case, a perfect ligature in the second. This development was symptomatic of the disintegration of the modal system of rhythmic organisation. Mensural notational procedures and not modal principles governed the notation; consequently we are able to classify the ligatures of Mo VII-VIII without reference to the modes.

For the division of the brevis recta into two notes the Figura Obliqua C.O.P. substitutes for the figura descendens in Mo VII-VIII; this use directly parallels the form of the binary division of the longa imperfecta. In modern editions, the division of the brevis into two notes has, unfortunately, been transcribed all too often as semibreves aequales (♪♪) although the theorists explicitly state that two semibreves are to be measured as inaequales (♪'♩), three as semibreves aequales (♫♪). To defend such methods of transcription, it has even been advanced that Franco was not really reflecting the actual practice of his time, but attempting to establish a new practice with rules of a decidedly novel character, and consequently his reiterated statement demanding the ternary division of the brevis would represent not a confirmation of a traditional practice, but a deliberate deviation from it [11]. Actually the ter-

[11] Franco's new method of explanation and partially new terminology represented a decided break with theoretical explanations in that the modal concept (still quite strong in Aristotle's *Differentiae)* is replaced by a new logical system. However, this change in dialectical reasoning was not paralleled by the introduction of a new system of notation. The only major distinguishing innovation of the Franconian mensural notation was the added use of the Ligatura Sine Perfectione.

nary division of the brevis is advocated not merely by the Franconian apologists, but also by all the theorists connected with the repertory of Mo VII. While it is possible to defend the viewpoint that a certain lax rhythmic interpretation of the division of the brevis was present in the motet style of Mo II-VI (cf. F. Ludwig in Adler's *Handbuch,* I, 219), the subsequent deceleration of the tempo, in which even minimae (notated as semibreves) occurred, precludes this possibility in Mo VII-VIII.

The division of the brevis recta into three notes is in every case notated in conjuncturae. In analogy to the descending conjunctura, which had supplied 181 examples as opposed to 15 for all other melodic possibilities for the division of the brevis in Mo II-VI, other forms of the conjunctura have been created. It may be noted from *Anon. Sowa's* term for the conjuncturae 'Semibreves' (cf. 65 ff) that these two concepts had become closely allied. A further notational possibility: a ligatura C.O.P. with plica was used frequently in Mo VII and appendix but was abandoned in Mo VIII.

The binaria sine perfectione used to notate the divisicn of the brevis (Longa) duorum temporum is always to be interpreted as B/B. This is clear from the statement of *Anon. Sowa* (p. 52) who polemicises against those (Aristoteles) (*C.S.* I 274a) who notate this division as a C.O.P. ligature and who demand a ternary interpretation of the division of the brevis (cf. *Anon. Sowa* 48 et seq. and 63).

The usual rhythmic interpretation of the longa imperfecta SSB is expressed by an imperfect ternaria C.O.P. Unmodal rhythmics such as BSS occur in Mo VII app. and Mo VIII [12].

The elongation of the head of the initial note of the binaria representing the L/B division of the longa perfecta in Mo II-VI, has been replaced in Mo VII-VIII by forms 'Sine Proprietate'. Although the 'Figura ascendens' is imperfect in form, the 'Figura obliqua', the mensural form for the

[12] J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural Notation,* p. 7, quite correctly states the principle that the conjunctura ( ) gradually lost its original notational meaning, and had become no more than a 'multitudo brevium id est semibrevium', which are to be interpreted as BSS. Wolf's further statement that this change had taken place, for the most part, already in Mo II-VI is false. The rhythmic interpretation BSS is justified in Mo VIII 312, 313, 316, 320(?), 323, 333, and 337; possibly also in Mo VII (app.) 292, 295, 301 and 302. It is not justified in the main body of Mo VII, as in 283 and 288, incorrectly transcribed by Rokseth, as a comparison with Ba shows. Outside of the questionable Mo VIII 320, all the motets concerned with this new rhythm are Unica, and only internal evidence, such as the parallel presence of the BSS ligature ( ) attests to this probable interpretation. However, even in Mo VIII (as in No. 304) the conjunctura is still used in the former meaning SSB. The form unknown to Wolf (p. 8) is the usual form found in Ba and Hu.

descending ligature sine perfectione, is not used in Mo VII, but only in Mo VIII.

The B/L division of the longa perfecta into two notes distinguishes perfect and imperfect forms; perfect forms are used before a single brevis (to create a longa imperfecta), imperfect forms (a brevis altera) before a longa or its equivalent.

In the division of the longa perfecta into three notes certain rhythmic variations are possible. The usual division BBB utilises a ternaria sine perfectione exactly as in Mo II-VI. The metric possibility SSL(B) is applied, especially in Mo VIII, and is notated C.O.P. cum (vel sine) perfectione. In a few cases, especially in the motetus of a composition whose triplum is of the lively Petrus de Cruce type, use is made of the measurement LSS, which is notated by means of a conjunctura, whose first note is provided with a tractus in the manner of the longae.

Our present tabulation excludes the 'Stimmtausch' motets, which, being written in the 'notatio sine litera' for the most part, extend beyond our tabulatory means.

Having considered the notation of the upper voices, we turn our attention to the notation of the Tenores. The tenores, whose melodic source may be traced back to the solo parts of the Responsorial chants of the Roman liturgy, underwent a rhythmic stylisation in the Notre-Dame polyphonic tradition. A certain equalizing tendency permitted a broadening of those sections of the chant that were syllabic in their nature, and restricted the melismatic sections in their compass. These melismatic or discantus sections, distinguished by their metric treatment of the tenor, proved very popular and were composed quite often as 'Ersatzklauseln'. It was these 'Substitute Clausulae', provided with text for the upper voices, which provided the basic material for the motets. The tenor, often identified only by the one syllable to which the melisma had been sung, was later divided into rhythmic groups called 'ordines'. First ordo meant that the tenor completed its rhythmic cycle once, finishing on the same rhythmic value as it had begun; consequently, in the first mode this would be LBLRest. The second ordo completed this cycle twice before pausing, consequently in the first mode this would be LBLBRest. Likewise the third ordo would be a threefold repetition, and the fourth ordo would present the group four times. The theorists speak of imperfect ordines, by which they mean a rhythmic group or ordo which does not end with the same rhythmic value as it begins. There is no use made of imperfect ordines or modes in the tenores of Mo II-VI, although they frequently appear in English music of this time.

Since the tenores are virtually textless, the notation used is the 'notatio sine litera'. Ligatures are used, not for melodic ornamentation, as in the

upper voices, but as a means of economically notating the tenor, a type of short hand. Because of this fundamental difference, tonal repetition is quite frequent; this external moment caused a fracture of the ligature. In the case of the ternaria this resulted in a simplex and a binaria, or 3 simplices; in the case of the binaria in two simplices.

The first ordo of the first mode was notated by means of a ternaria. Occasionally the figura ascendens was so modified as to include a tractus or the right side of the first note. It is interesting that this tractus is drawn on the right side of the first note, in the manner of the simplex notes, and not on the left as was usual with the ligatures. Undoubtedly the use of the tractus to indicate the longa value of the initial note was suggested by the tractus which was the distinguishing mark of the simplex-longa. Where the ternaria was split we have 21i L, L 21i or L B L. In the case of the binaria plus longa, the figura ascendens often replaced the binaria by a form 'sine proprietate et perfectione', whose tractus, likewise, was on the right side of the initial note.

The second ordo of the first mode is notated by means of a ternaria followed by a binaria. The third ordo adds another binaria to this, in the manner of the 'chain' ligatures of the 'notatio sine litera'. In the one case (Mo VI 224 with corrections by Kuhlmann) where the initial longa is divided into two breves, a quaternaria is substituted for the ternaria.

The first ordo of the second mode is expressed by means of a ternaria; to this the subsequent ordines prefix each a 'chain' binaria. Among the normal ligatures of the modal notation, the final ternaria of the second mode is the only case where a longa is an internal metric value. Michalitschke (p. 45) believes, consequently, that the ternaria resulted from the contraction of a binaria and a simplex. Husmann (*Diss.* p. 19) believes that the second mode is merely a special case of the third mode, in which all the ternariae, except the last, have been split into 'chain' binariae. Undoubtedly there is an interesting notational parallel between the ternaria of the third mode, and that of the second, whose last note is shortened by a rest. This parallel is all the more interesting because in those cases in which the ternaria of the second mode is split, a simplex-longa is used for the final note instead of the expected brevis. There is, however, beyond this notational parallel, no evidence to justify the assumption that the second mode is a resolution of the third, for in the earliest cantus firmus settings both modes stand side by side, and in the motets of Mo a second mode triplum is never opposed to a third mode motetus, as, for example, the sixth mode being contrasted with a first of second mode. The original binary form of the third mode further precludes this possibility. Undoubtedly the explanation for the final longa of the second mode was the fact that this note was regularly extended in practice, since this extension did

not interfere with the basic rhythm of the mode. It is interesting to note that although there are some cases of the first mode with an upbeat, there is no parallel case in the second mode [13].

The third mode is notated in the expected manner: longa simplex plus ternaria; and for the second ordo: simplex plus two 'chain' ternariae. The presence of the third mode in the tenores is severely restricted.

The fifth mode is generally used in its first ordo L/L/L where it applies the notational license of the ternaria [14].

The sixth mode does occur and is irregular in its notation, although chains of ternariae are used. The fifth and sixth modes, despite their notational differences, are often confounded by Rokseth in her tables [15].

The poverty of forms for the ternaria resulted in the following metric interpretations: (Mode 1) Li/Br/Li; (Mode 2) Br/Li/Br; (Mode 3) Br/

[13] The second mode does not correspond with our modern rhythmic concepts, for dynamic accent and metric length do not coincide. This fact led W. Niemann (*Pub. IMG,* Beiheft VI) to the false conclusion that the second mode is actually a first mode with an upbeat. Although it is often difficult to decide whether the second or first mode with an upbeat is present in the organal sections of the cantus firmas settings, it is clear in every case which mode is present wherever there is a rhythmic tenor. We find, furthermore, that in the upper voices of the motets of Mo, the unaccentuated part of the ordo (first mode: brevis, second mode: longa) is more often split than the accentuated part. It is clear, however, that our modern concept of heavy accentuation did not obtain in this music; in this sense the term 'Alla Zoppa', frequently reiterated by Michalitschke, is not descriptive of the second mode.

[14] One of the main arguments for Koller's assertion that the second Fascicle is written in a later notation (for him Aristotelian), is the fact that the first ordo of the fifth mode is never expressed there in ligatures, whereas the usual notation in Mo III-VI (cf. Garlandia *C.S.* I 101b) affords ternariae. The same hand that notated Mo II was, however, also responsible for Mo III-VI. The motets contained in this fascicle belong, furthermore, to the same style and same epoch as the other compositions. Other indications also cause us to reject this hypothosis: the sixth fascicle, which contains two-part motets, places the motetus on the main part of the leaf, the tenor at the foot of the page or motet. The three-part motets of Mo III-V present the triplum on the verso, the motetus on the recto and the tenor at the foot of the page. For the four-part motets, which are contained only in the second fascicle, the arrangement used was: Quadruplum: first column verso, Triplum: second column verso, Motetus: first column recto, Tenor: second column recto. This arrangement provided too much room for the fewer notes of the tenor, and consequently the luxury of notating the tenor in simplices rather than in the space-saving short hand of the ligatures could well be afforded. The non-ligated form of the fifth mode was used in Mo III-VI, when the first ordo was exceeded or when ambiguity could result because of the use of two different modes in the same tenor. The use of two modes did not, however, upset the balance so that B/L and L/B should not appear in the same motet. The fifth mode, however, combined easily with either the first or second.

[15]) Rokseth, '*Polyphonies*... IV 144-5' Motets 164, 277, 278 and 310 should be listed under sixth mode (suite de brèves) not under fifth.

Ba/Lp; (Mode 5) Lp/Lp/Lp; (Mode 6) Br/Br/Br. Only when total repetition split the ligature was an attempt made in the tenores of Mo II-VI to indicate more precisely the metric value of the ligarute. Specialisation of the ligatures in the tenores was not so critical as in the upper voices because there the need was not so great. Aristoteles, after giving the mensural rules of the simplex-notes (*C.S.* I 269-272) with examples from Mo III-IV, and the mensural rules of the ligatures (*C.S.* I 273-278) without examples from the practice, does not consistently apply these rules to the notation of the tenores (*C.S.* I 279e-280).

The increased disintegration of the modal framework was responsible for the use of complete mensural notation in the tenores of Mo VII-VIII. Even so the notator of Mo VII does not use the figura obliqua for the descending binaria; also, he often adds a tractus to the middle note of the ternaria of the second mode when the final note is higher in pitch (as e.g. Mo VII 283 f. 321'-2 (319'-20)). This last named case is furthermore interesting because in Mo VII the first ordo of the second mode is occasionally expressed sine propietate, which would contadict the rule. This form which is used throughout Ba is discussed by Garlandia (*C.S.* I 101) (cf. Wolf, *Handbuch,* p. 229). The ternaria ascendens of the first mode is plainly marked 'sine perfectione' in Mo VII, but when the figura descendens is used it is not so plainly marked (as in Mo VII 263). The license by which the first Ordo of the fifth mode could be notated by means of a ternaria is abandoned in Mo VII-VIII. In Mo VIII the modal system is so depraved that rhythmic cross-relationships such as (Mo VIII 323) occur and the new completely Franconian mensuration gives the notation a completely new character, a mensural character which has persisted until the present day.

Compilation of the Incidence of Ligatures in the Upper Voices of the Motets of the Montpellier Ms.

A. Fascicles II-VI

1. Division of the Brevis Recta

Modes:	Binary 1.	2.	3.	Other	Ternary 1.	2.	3.	Other
	291	44	36	11	152	4	0	1
	185	4	2	0	10	4	4	1
	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	10	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
(cadence)					(cadence)			
	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
					(cadence)			
	13	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
(cadence)								
	1	0	0	0	5	2	0	0
	9	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
(cadence)					1	0	0	0
					1	0	0	0
					(cadence)			

2. Division of the Brevis Altera or Longa Imperfecta

Modes:	Binary 1.	2.	3.	Other	Ternary 1.	2.	3.	Other
	507	428	17	8	389	638	14	13
	224	524	13	4	1	6	0	0

	7	0	0	0
	2	0	3	0
	0	1	0	0
	1	1	0	0
	3	0	14	0
	0	0	8	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0

	5	0	0	0
	1	1	0	0
	4	31	1	0
	9	86	0	1
	2	0	0	0
	25	53	0	0
	18	32	1	0
	57	32	1	0
	4	2	0	0
	3	8	0	0
	33	13	0	0
	0	1	0	0
(cadence)				
	1	0	0	0
	1	0	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0

3. Division of the Longa Perfecta

Binary		Binary			Ternary			
Mode:	1.	2.	3.	Other		1.	2.	3.	Other
	21	20	87	0		96	9	0	0
	4	10	60	0		26	52	99	5
	6	1	0	0		3	0	3	0
(cadence)					(cadence)				
	0	1	0	0		6	6	2	1
	2	1	0	0		12	2	1	0

	13	1	0	1
	2	0	0	0
	0	0	1	0
	1	0	0	0

	16	6	1	0
	0	2	1	0
	5	1	11	0
	18	10	0	0
	1	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	4	0	0
	1	0	0	0
	1	0	0	0
	1	0	0	0
	2	1	0	0
	1	0	1	0
	1	0	0	0
	1	0	0	0
	0	1	0	0
	0	0	1	0
	0	0	1	0

B. Fascicles VII (its Appendix) and VIII

1. Division of the Brevis Recta

	Binary				Ternary		
Fascicle:	VII	App.	VIII		VII	App.	VIII
	174	64	84		480	158	120
	99	18	135		1	5	7
	83	11	0		5	3	5
	0	2	0		0	0	5
	0	1	0		0	0	1
	1	0	0		1	1	0

(cadence)

2. Division of the Brevis Altera or Longa Imperfecta

Fascicle:	Binary VII	Binary App.	Binary VIII
	110	15	85
	108	25	93
	0	1	0
	1	0	0
	0	1	1

	Ternary VII	Ternary App.	Ternary VIII
	110	19	120
	0	1	0
	51	4	29
	9	7	1
	1	0	0
	11	5	25
	8	8	43
	0	0	8
	0	0	1
	0	0	1

3. Division of the Longa Perfecta

Fascicle:	Binary VII	Binary App.	Binary VIII
(cadence)	1	0	0
	0	0	7
	0	0	2
	18	8	0
	20	6	11
	1	0	0
(cadence)			

	Binary VII	Binary App.	Binary VIII
	7	2	5
	39	0	30
	0	0	1
	2	1	16
	28	0	23
	0	0	2
	0	1	0

	Ternary VII	Ternary App.	Ternary VIII
	40	13	24
	2	5	4
	4	1	10
	2	0	0
	4	2	5
	1	0	0
	0	0	12
	0	0	4
	0	1	0
	3	0	8
	1	0	1
(cadence)	0	0	1
	0	0	1

MARCHETTUS DE PADUA AND THE ITALIAN ARS NOVA

NINO PIRROTTA

That period of musical history which — properly or improperly — is generally referred to as the Italian Ars Nova may be compared to an island: an island appearing on the horizon after a long voyage through centuries of silence and obscurity. The sudden and brilliant rise of this island delights us, but as we near it and are able to make out the configuration of its shore line, we see that after it there is another expanse of silence and obscurity separating it from the larger and more solid continent, the music of the Italian Renaissance.

This gap between the spring flowers of the Ars Nova and the ripe and abundant harvest of the Renaissance is what has been called, in an effective if somewhat romantic and picturesque phrase, the Secret of the Quattrocento; for it has always had for music historians that mixture of attraction and repulsion which suggests a kind of *horror vacui*. But the efforts which have been made in search of the clue to this secret have so far yielded no very positive results. Even if they have succeeded in diminishing the length of the silence, and even if music has been brought to light which had hitherto been almost completely forgotten, the definitive solution has yet to be found.

I believe that this results from the fact that the problem has been posed in an incomplete manner, and its solution has been sought through only one of the terms which go to make it up. These terms are, in fact, not only the silence following the Ars Nova, but also the silence which precedes it, and, above all, the Ars Nova itself. While I would not like to suggest doubling the Secret of the Quattrocento, I cannot help wondering why the silence preceding the Ars Nova has never been regarded as a phenomenon requiring explanation. Possibly the two problems were never posed, simply because the answers were taken for granted before the questions were even asked: answers all the more deceptive in that they rest on preconceived ideas or even on unconscious assumptions.

The silence of the Duecento appeared only natural, since it corresponded to the notion of a social life lost in medieval somnolence and obscurity. This conception is quite mistaken, as that century was in fact one of the liveliest, richest in ideals, and most generous in the history of Italian life and thought. Indeed the cultural life of the Duecento also had

its musical side, since its poetry was always sung, from the *Canticle of the Sun* by St. Francis of Assisi, to the *laude* of Jacopone da Todi and the lyrics of Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio* [1]. Following this assumption of barrenness, however, the appearance of the Ars Nova was found quite natural because it was felt to be inevitable, or even necessary, that a country such as Italy, to which the future reserved one of the most brilliant rôles in the history of music, should at a certain moment awaken and shake off its condition of medieval torpor. All of which amounts to explaining something by what came afterwards, or offering no explanation at all.

Furthermore, these explanations are based on a conception inherited from Romanticism, whereby all the arts, and music in a very particular way, are viewed as a direct, natural, and necessary product of the life of a people. We may accept this notion, and even here with many limitations and reservations, only in connection with what is generally called popular or folk art, but the art which has left its mark on history has almost never been of this popular kind. Rather, it has been the expression, I will not say of an aristocracy, because of the ambiguity of the term, but certainly of a very restricted minority. And that such an élite should be formed and should choose to express itself in a particular kind of art is a phenomenon which cannot be considered as simple, natural, or spontaneous, for it is not only the product of historical and social conditions of a general sort, but also of particular and special factors, among which the element of individual personality is by no means the least important.

My object in this prologue has been not to single out Marchettus de Padua as the individual creator of the Italian Ars Nova in the sense that his contemporary Philippe de Vitry was, to a certain extent, the creator of a simultaneous development in France. I do not believe that the position of Marchettus is comparable to that of Vitry or of de Muris. His two treatises never give us the impression of presenting a new and original doctrine. Marchettus' highest ambition, in the realization of which he called for the assistance of a philosophical adviser in the person of Brother Syphans de Ferraria, was simply to offer a coherently rational and logical

[1] Always lacking, however, is the music itself, because it required no written tradition and was entrusted only to oral transmission. There is a musical staff prepared for the notation of a melody in one of the earliest Franciscan Mss. of the *Canticle of the Sun,* but the music was never written down. The only music we possess from this period is that of the *laude,* but this exception is more apparent than real. For of hundreds of *laude* Mss. only two, and some fragments of a third, preserve music as well as texts, and the music was added not because the singers needed it, but because the notation, together with the splendid and ornate miniatures, was intended to testify to the opulence of the confraternities possessing such manuscripts.

exposition of the music of his own time and country. He wishes — as he himself puts it in the dedication of the *Pomerium* * — that this music may shine not with an arbitrary, willful brilliance, but with the light of reason and order — "non absoluto voluntatis arbitrio, sed rationis ordine producta lucescat" [2].

The contribution of Marchettus, and that of his adviser, was not the invention of new rules or methods of musical notation, but the rational confirmation of those rules and procedures which he conceived to be consistent with the fundamental principles of music; and on the other hand the rejection of all that seemed to him to contradict those principles. It would not be too much to say that, as regards the negative side of his attempt, he was not very successful, and his prohibitions, suggested by too rigid theoretical abstractions, were never respected [3].

Paradoxically, the historical importance of Marchettus lies precisely in his lack of originality. But — no less important from our point of view —

* Editor's note: This work, edited by G. Vecchi, is now in progress at the printer's, forming *CSM* 5.

[2] M. Gerbert, *Scriptores de Musica Ecclesiastici,* III, 123.

[3] An instance of Marchettus' prohibitions is the long chapter of the *Pomerium* against ligatures of two notes on the same pitch (Gerbert, *op. cit.,* III, 182). M. describes them as "quadraturae in uno corpore copulatae", but the musical example, as given by Gerbert, is completely misleading. Such ligatures, however, can be found in their proper shape (either two contiguous *semibreves,* or a *brevis* and *semibrevis*), not only in the Vatican fragment Rossi 215 and in later Ars Nova sources, but in Marchettus' quoted example, as it is given in the Ambrosian Ms. of the *Pomerium.* Very peculiar are such ligatures when they bind notes belonging to different measures with a *punctus divisionis* above the two touching notes. This use allows the notation of syncopation beyond the limit of the single measure, said to be impossible in the Italian notation.

In another more important instance Marchettus' negative attitude is apparent through an omission. The supposed creator of the Italian musical notation simply ignores such very usual measures as the *senaria perfecta* and the *quaternaria.* Of course there is no question of real ignorance, but of logical connection with Franco's definition of *tempus,* enthusiastically embraced and defended by Marchettus. Since the *tempus perfectum* is "quod est minimum in plenitudine vocis" (Gerbert, III, 137), and the *tempus imperfectum* is "quod est minimum . . . in semiplenitudine vocis" (i.e., 2/3 of the value of *tempus perfectum.* See Gerbert, *op. cit.,* III, 171-72), the "quantity" of the *senaria perfecta* and of the *quaternaria* is, respectively, that of the *duodenaria* and of the *octonaria.* They do not need any particular description because they are but the second division (into 6 and into 4 *semibreves minores*) of the *duodenaria* and *octonaria.* But the common use of the *senaria perfecta* and *quaternaria* in practice as independent measures can only be understood insofar as they express, contrary to Marchettus, a faster rhythm (i.e., they possess a smaller "quantity") than the *duodenaria* and *octonaria.* The idea of a "tempus perfectum quantum ad divisionem", but "minus", or even "minimum quantum ad quantitatem" is the basic principle of the *Rubricae breves,* published by Gerbert (III, 188) as Marchet-

he is an accurate and well-informed observer of the Italian practice of his time. In what he rejects, no less than in what he accepts, his testimony is as complete as one could ask, in the almost total absence of any actual Italian music of that time. Furthermore, and this is the point of my prologue, I find in his two treatises hints and suggestions which I believe will be useful to us in investigating the conditions surrounding the birth of the Italian Ars Nova.

The first evidence to be considered concerns the chronology of its birth. The problem of dating Marchettus' two theoretical works, the *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae* and the *Pomerium artis musicae mensuratae* [4], has long been discussed. Only recently, however, Oliver Strunk has dealt with this problem in an absolutely definitive manner [5]. The *Lucidarium* was written on the commission of Raynerius de Zaccaria de Urbeveteri, who is described in the dedication as the representative of King Robert of Naples in the province of Romagna, and who held this office in the years 1317-18 [6]. This date for the *Lucidarium,* however, is significant also for

tus' work, but certainly not by him for these very reasons. The quantity of the *senaria perfecta* should be, according to the *Rubricae,* "pro medietate temporis perfecti divisi per duodecim". It is possible that in some cases it proves to be exact. Since, however, in the actual music *senaria perfecta* and *imperfecta* are usually alternated „per aequipollentiam", their value must be the same: 2/3 in quantity of that of the *duodenaria* and *novenaria.* We have no indication for the exact value of the *quaternaria,* nor do the *Rubricae breves* mention it. By the application of the normal rapport between *perfectum* and *imperfectum* it should be 2/3 of the *senaria* (either *perfecta* or *imperfecta*), i.e. also, 2/3 of the *octonaria,* and 4/9 of the *duodenaria* and *novenaria.*

Besides their theoretical justification, such proportions give us a satisfactory orientation for the rhythmic interpretation of the works of the oldest composers of this period, especially where rhythms change within a single composition. I adopted them in the first issue (1954) of *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy* (CMM 8) for the works of Bartolo, Giovanni and Gherardello da Firenze. Of course careful analysis is required to find the measure adopted in the original notation, since it has in many cases been subjected to revision. The influence of the French theory of rhythmic proportions (connected with the "four prolations") modified the entire system. Rhythm in the works of the later composers present different and individual problems.

[4] Both published, as already mentioned, in Gerbert, *Scriptores,* III, 64-121 and 121-187. Definitive editions in *CSM* are in preparation.

[5] O. Strunk, "Intorno a Marchetto da Padova", *La Rassegna Musicale,* XX (1950), 312-15). See also for the whole literature on this problem: G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages,* New York, 1939, 340; and W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music,* 3rd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1949, 368.

[6] Pope Clement V had named King Robert of Naples his representative (*vicario*) and governor of all his Italian domains on August 19, 1310. King Robert in turn excercised that power through his brother the count of Gravina. Raynerius de Zaccaria was the last representative of the count of Gravina in the province of

the date of the *Pomerium,* since, as Strunk has pointed out, there are very close ties between the two works. They form two halves of a single highly unified design; and not only does the *Pomerium* occasionally mention the earlier work [7], but also in the *Lucidarium* a projected treatise on the subject of mensural music is very clearly announced [8]. Consequently the composition of the *Pomerium* cannot be separated by a very long interval from that of the *Lucidarium,* more particularly as it originated in the same city, Cesena, where at least a part of the *Lucidarium* had been written, also employing the philosophical learning of Brother Syphans de Ferraria [9].

The dedication of the *Pomerium* — this time to King Robert himself — mentions that the king was engaged in a three-sided war. We must then, according to Strunk, exclude the period between April 1319 and April 1324, during which time Robert d'Anjou was in retirement in Provence and had no occasion to concern himself personally with any military undertaking [10]. I entirely agree with Strunk that it hardly seems likely that five or six years would have elapsed between the composition of these two treatises, and that April 1319 is therefore the latest probable date for the *Pomerium.*

I am glad, however, to be able to give further support to this statement offering an absolutely fixed date after which the *Pomerium* could not have come into existence. This *terminus ante quem* can be established with the help of the *explicit* of this treatise, as given by Gerbert [11]: "Explicit Pomerium Artis musicae mensurabilis Marchetti de Padua conditum Cesenae in domo Raynaldi de Cintris". We have no reason to doubt that this note was made by Marchettus himself, for by changing one letter, which the scribe or Gerbert may easily have miscopied, we obtain the name of a personage who played a rather important, if ephemeral rôle in the history of Cesena; namely Raynaldus de Cintiis.

Romagna, being replaced in 1318 by a papal representative. Strunk (*op. cit.,* 313) points out that Marchettus, mentioning in his dedication the count of Gravina, does not give him the title of prince of Acaia and Morea which he acquired on July 11, 1318 upon his marriage to Matilda of Hainaut. Therefore the *Lucidarium* must be earlier than that date.

[7] Gerbert, *op. cit.,* III, 187.

[8] *Ibidem,* 69: "De hoc enim mensurata [musica] ad praesens non intendimus, quia in quodam alio nostro opere de ipsa, & de suis accidentalibus proposuimus non semiplene tractare, Domino concedente".

[9] *Ibidem,* 123.

[10] Strunk, *op. cit.,* 314. See also R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò,* Florence, 1921-30, II, 31-36. The „anceps bellum", against the Ghibellines of Northern Italy and against Frederic, king of Trinacria, was a chronic situation; nevertheless the months preceding Robertus' retirement in Provence, in 1319, were a period of intense actual war.

[11] Gerbert, *op. cit.,* III, 187.

Raynaldus was very closed allied with the Callisesi family, who were at this time the leaders of the Guelph party in Cesena and had been banished from the city in 1314 [12]. However the name of Raynaldus is mentioned in contemporary chronicles only after 1318, when the Callisesi were again allowed entrance to the city with the support of the royal governor Raynerius de Zaccaria, to whom Marchettus dedicated his first treatise [13]. In 1321 Raynaldus de Cintiis seems to have been associated with the youngest of the Callisesi, Ghellus, in certain acts of violence which some historians interpret as an attempt to impose a tyranny on the city. However, not even a token trial was instituted against the seditious parties [14]. Quite the contrary, we find Raynaldus and Ghellus associated with other prominent Guelphs of Romagna in a solemn ceremony, on the day of Pentecost 1324, in the city of Rimini, in which they were decorated with the dignity and attributes of knighthood. According to the chroniclers, the fame and splendor of this ceremony were sufficient to attract some fifteen hundred jugglers and buffoons to Rimini [15].

In 1324 Raynaldus was named governor (podestà) of the city of Padua, an office he held until August 22 of that year [16]; but his political career was not destined to be a long one. According to some sources Ghellus de Callisesi took advantage of Raynaldus' absence to take the control of Cesena; but Raynaldus, returning from Padua, had him imprisoned, then seized the government himself. According to other information they had at first planned to establish a double *signoria,* but ambition and thirst for power led Raynaldus to betray his ally and make himself the sole ruler of the city [17]. The question of which of these two versions of the story may be the correct one is not within our competence; what does concern us is that in the course of the year 1326 the intervention of the papal vicar in Romagna re-established in Cesena a communal constitution, and that, while Ghellus was released shortly afterward, Raynaldus never left prison, and was executed there March 2, 1327.

[12] S. Chiaramonti, *Caesenae Historia,* Cesena, 1641, 482-84. Characteristically enough, the Callisesi were not exiled by the Ghibellines but by a more moderate group of the Guelph faction.

[13] *Ibidem,* 491-92.

[14] *Ibidem,* 501. Also R. Zazzeri, *Storia di Cesena,* Cesena, 1890, 182.

[15] *Ibidem,* 507.

[16] *Ibidem,* 510, and Zazzeri, *op cit.,* 183.

[17] The second is the version given by Chiaramonti (*op. cit.,* 511-17), who in a confused and contradictory manner, first mentions the story under the year 1324, then repeats it under 1326. I accept the later date. According to the first version, which is the one given by Zazzeri (*op. cit.,* 183-84), Raynaldus seized power in Cesena in 1324, was imprisoned by Americo da Castel Lucio in 1325, and died on March 2, 1326.

Obviously this execution effectively disposes of any attempt to show that Marchettus wrote the *Pomerium* after 1326. Furthermore, as in the *explicit* of the *Pomerium* there is no mention of the title of *cavaliere* which had been bestowed upon Raynaldus in 1324, we may safely conclude that the treatise must have been written before that event.

The importance of these dates hardly needs to be emphasized. In the first place, one of the earliest documents of the Italian Ars Nova is thus shown to be from about 1320. Furthermore, what we see at this time is not the foundation of a new system, but the description, or, if you like, the theoretical formulation of an already existing musical practice. Moreover the dating of the *Pomerium* in 1319, or before 1324, or even, for that matter, before 1327, to take the most sceptical possible view toward the argument I have presented, disproves the hypothesis that it was influenced in any way by the theories of Philippe de Vitry and Jean de Muris.

This influence is supposed to have affected two principal aspects of Marchettus' theory. First the matter of rhythm and rhythmic notation. It seems to me, on the basis of my experience with 14th century Italian music, that the example of French notation exercised on Italian musicians, from about the middle of the century, an influence which resulted in the gradual effacement of the characteristic features of Italian notation. It is difficult for me to imagine that the same influence could have first created, then destroyed the Italian system of notation. Furthermore, no one has ever explained how the Italian rhythmic divisions *octonaria* and *duodenaria* could have been derived from the systems of Vitry and Muris, to whom these divisions were entirely unknown [18].

The second aspect of Marchettus' theory which is said to have been subject to French influence is chromaticism. Marchettus takes up this matter not in the *Pomerium,* but in the *Lucidarium* written around 1318, and his formulation is absolutely independent both of the rather summary discussion by Vitry and of Muris' far more developed theory. More than Muris, Marchettus stresses the use of chromatic alterations not merely to make perfect consonances and to fulfill purely technical requirements, but also as a matter of aesthetic choice [19]. He points out very clearly that the

[18] Even less related to the French systems is the smaller division called *divisio duodenaria plusquamperfecta* in the *Rubricae breves,* falsely attributed to Marchettus by Gerbert (see note 3), but certainly not remote from him and his time.

[19] "Huiusmodi semitonia fuerunt in musica adinventa, ut per dissonantias coloratas, seu cuiusdam placitae pulcritudinis ipsarum, ad perfectiores seu pulcriores in cantu consonantias veniamus" (Gerbert, III, 73). Of course not the consonances

use of chromatic alterations in this case means accentuating the tendency of the third and the sixth to resolve to a perfect consonance. He combines with this quite modern notion of harmonic resolution the idea of the extreme harmonic tension brought about by the introduction of the *musica falsa* sign. For, according to his theory, the application of this sign raises the pitch of the affected note by four fifths of a tone, the value he assigns to the *semitonium chromaticum* [20].

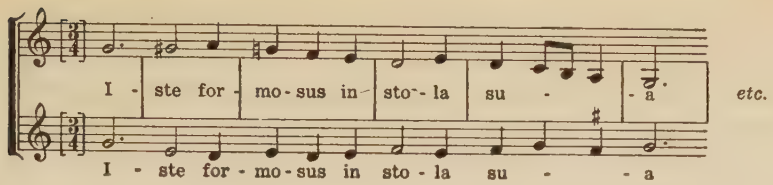
The special interest which Marchettus shows in chromatic alterations is the reflection in theory of the taste for chromaticism which is one of the most marked characteristics of Italian music of this time. One could select a good many examples from the works of Bartolo and Giovanni da Firenze or of Piero, the oldest identified composers of the period, or from the anonymous compositions in the Ms. Vatican Rossi 215, which is certainly the musical source closest to the time of Marchettus. Since, however, it might be possible to regard these documents as proceding from the influence of Marchettus' writings, I prefer to give examples which show that the tendency toward chromaticism was in evidence in Italian music before the composition of the *Lucidarium*. They are drawn from a series of polyphonic settings for dramatic offices which have recently been discovered in the cathedral of Padua [21] :

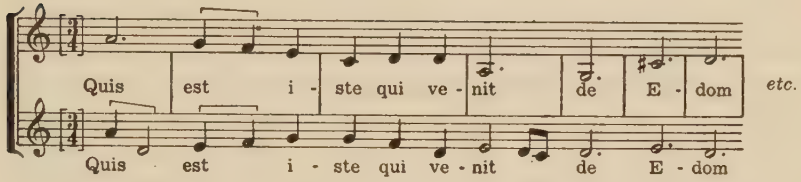
themselves are „pulcriores", but the manner of arriving at them. It is noteworthy that, although the *Lucidarium* is mainly dealing with problems of monodic music, Marchettus' explanations and examples refer to polyphony every time chromaticism is concerned (Gerber, III, 73-75, 82-83, 89).

[20] Gerbert, III, 73-75. The use of *b quadrum* and *rotundum* determines the formation either of the enharmonic, or of the diatonic semitone, to which Marchettus assigns, respectively, the value of 2/5 and 3/5 of a tone. The chromatic semitone is determined only by the introduction of the sign „quod a vulgo falsa musica nominatur". Since, however, the sign was invented (Marchettus does not indicate by whom) „ad pulchrius consonantias reperiendas et formandas — magis debet & proprius nominari musica colorata quam falsa" (Gerbert, III, 135).

Marchettus' system of enharmonic, diatonic, and chromatic semitones will be sharply criticized, more than a century later, by Johannes Gallicus Carthusiensis, who asks (E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi* etc., IV, 328): „Ubi precor a seculo fuit auditum, praeter a Marchetto, semitonium dyatonicum, enarmonicum et chromaticum?". I am inclined to agree with Gallicus in believing that Marchettus' statement on this subject had no theoretical source. I suppose rather that the „chromatic" division of the tone (4/5 plus 1/5) was suggested to him only by the empirical observation of the strong tendency towards resolution of the sixths and thirds affected by the *musica falsa* sign. The essentially practical nature of Marchettus' views on this point is also shown by the advice he gives to the singers (Gerbert, III, 75) for the performance of chromatic descending (then „deceptive") sequences, as for instance *d, c* sharp, *c* natural.

[21] See G. Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici padovani,* Firenze, 1954, containing monodic and polyphonic music from two Processionals.





The two pieces from which my examples have been selected are among the latest; their notation, which would deserve a special study, is quite close to the notation described by Marchettus, although more archaic. I would place them around 1300.

The Paduan pieces are also interesting because they, together with some previously known documents, testify to the existence of polyphonic music in Italy before the Ars Nova. This was, I believe, an ecclesiastical art, whether intended for liturgical use, or simply practiced for the recreation of the musicians themselves, as was probably the case with the "cantilenae de cantu melodiato sive fracto" mentioned in the chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, "in quibus clerici saeculares maxime delectantur" [22]. I have advanced the hypothesis that from this monastic polyphony comes even the name of what is to become the fundamental form of Italian secular music, the madrigal. In this connection I make use of an etymology proposed in the 16th century by Pietro Bembo, and taken up in our day by Leo Spitzer and Ettore Li Gotti. According to this theory, *matriale,* the term which customarily appears in Florentine Mss., is derived from the adjective *materialis*. And I suppose that *cantus materialis* or *carmen materiale,* in contrast to *cantus spiritualis,* was the generic term applied in ecclesiastical circles to musical compositions on texts which were neither religious, moralizing, nor meditative [23]. Even in the 14th century the majority of Ars Nova musicians who set secular texts to music were eccle-

[22] Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica* ed. by F. Bernini, Bari, 1942, I, 262- and 264.

[23] See *Rivista Musicale Italiana,* IL (1947), 126-33 (also XLVIII, 316). Prof. Spitzer recently told me, in personal conversation, that he had renounced his former hypothesis because of some linguistic difficulty it implied. Nevertheless I did not change the text I had already written and read publicly because, whether the etymology is right or wrong, it does not affect the substance of my views on the origin of the madrigal itself from an ecclesiastical "recreative" art.

siastics. So, in my opinion, the problem of the origin of the Italian Ars Nova does not lie in the question of where it came from. It has to do rather with the determination of the conditions which induced these ecclesiastical musicians to leave their monasteries, gave them increased opportunity for self expression in secular music, and provided their works a certain publicity that has permitted them to be preserved for us.

On this point too, the testimony of Marchettus is important. As we have said, the *Lucidarium* was dedicated to Raynerius de Zaccaria from Orvieto, an officer of King Robert, and presumably not one of the least important. He was the last of those royal representatives in Romagna who, the chroniclers tell us, were pleased to ornament their names with the title of count, althoug this title belonged properly only to King Robert himself [24]. Raynerius had occupied a similar position in Florence some years earlier, when the Florentines temporarily offered King Robert the *signoria* of their city. Thus it was that in November 1315 Raynerius found himself in the position of having to issue a new sentence against Dante Alighieri [25]. Later, in 1329 we find him representing the king in Rome in a very delicate and difficult situation [26]. More soldier than functionary, he must have been of that military nobility which, as much by its own inclination as for the sake of the king's prestige, liked to deck itself out in splendor and luxury.

The same taste for power and magnificence must have animated Raynaldus de Cintiis. He had exercised this power legally during the period of his rule in Padua, and we have already spoken of his attempt to seize power in Cesena and its unhappy consequence. Thus the people to whom Marchettus addressed himself, and whose society he evidently frequented, were persons accustomed to an aristocratic and chivalrous way of life and to being surrounded by a courtly entourage.

There is no doubt that the greatest lord in Italy, whose court represented the highest model of royal dignity, was at this time the king of Naples, Robert d'Anjou, the friend of philosophers and scholars, protector of artists, and praised by Petrarch. It is to this prince that Vitry dedicated his motet *Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura,* and to whom Mar-

[24] Chiaramonti, *op. cit.,* 492-93 (see also the above note 6).

[25] His decree is published in I. Del Lungo, *Dell', esilio di Dante,* Firenze, 1881, 148-52. Florence decided in 1313 to submit to the "signoria" of Robert for five years. It was a nominal "signoria" exercised by means of representatives which substantially had the power usually accorded to the "podestá". Such a title is given to Ranieri di Zaccaria by R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz,* Berlin, 1912, III, 592, and Caggese, *op. cit.,* I, 217.

[26] Caggese *op. cit.,* II 135.

chettus offered the *Pomerium*. The dedicatory letter of this treatise affirms that Robert had inherited from his father, Charles II, a love of music, and that he liked to have around him a *turba canentium* [27]. Even if we must here discount a certain element of adulatory exaggeration, it seems to me that King Robert was the man whose example could have influenced other Italian courts to employ not only jongleurs, that is minstrels who sang monodic music, but also composers and performers of polyphonic music.

I am not so certain, though one might well suppose it, that Marchettus himself had any propagandistic effect in the diffusion of this secular and courtly polyphony [28]. What is certain is that his native Padua played an important rôle in the spreading of polyphonic music. Padua, where we have already seen Marchettus' protector, Raynaldus de Cintiis in 1324, passed in 1328 into the possession of the lords of Verona, the Scaligeri [29]. Four years after this, in 1332, the Paduan Antonio da Tempo wrote a treatise *De rhythimis vulgaribus,* on the poetical forms of his time, in which the madrigal is described as a form of secular poetry usually sung in a polyphonic setting [30]. The dedicatory letter of this treatise gives us other valuable hints. It is addressed to Alberto della Scala, elder brother of Mastino II and associated with him in the *signoria* of Verona and Padua, Alberto who had been in Padua since 1328 and remained there until the city was lost to the Scaligeri in 1337.

In his history of Verona, Girolamo Della Corte gives us the following unusual picture of Alberto della Scala: "Signor Alberto was by nature quiet, affectionate, peaceful, and cheerful. He favored writers and musicians because he took the greatest pleasure in music. He was frail and very impatient of labor and discomfort" [31]. The repertory, partly monodic and partly polyphonic, which has come down to us in the oldest musical source of Italian Ars Nova, the Vatican fragment Rossi 215, may very well be part of the music sung in Padua in the entourage of that music-loving lord between 1328 and 1337. The language of the poetic texts shows the influence of

[27] Gerbert, *op. cit.,* III, 123.

[28] It is noticeable, however, that the *explicit* of the *Lucidarium* (Gerbert, III, 121) indicates that it was written partly in Cesena, partly in Verona, which became in a few years perhaps the most important seat of Italian courtly polyphonic activity.

[29] G. Della Corte, *Istorie della cittá di Verona,* Venezia, 1744, II, 159. It was perhaps the last, nonmilitary but political, success of Cangrande, who died on July 22, 1329.

[30] "Ad hoc ut habeat pulchram sonoritatem expedit ipsum [the madrigal] cantari per duos ad minus in diversis vocibus concordantibus. Potest etiam per plures cantari *secundum quod quotidie videmus*" (A. da Tempo, *Delle rime volgari* ed. by G. Grion, Bologna, 1869, 139). See for the dedication to Alberto della Scala, *ibidem,* 69-70.

[31] *Op. cit.,* II, 166.

the local dialect of that region, and their metrical structure corresponds to the teachings of da Tempo [32]. In several of these texts young women are referred to as *Iguane* or *Euguane,* fairies or nymphs who, in the popular mythology of the region are said to inhabit the hills near Padua which are still today called the Colli Euganei. Finally, there is a madrigal which refers to a brother who leaves his beautiful manor of Peschiera (a fortress which Cangrande della Scala had had built in 1328) in order to rejoin "il suo priore", presumably meaning his older brother. This exactly fits Mastino della Scala, who, although he exercised far more real power, was younger than his brother Alberto [33].

The musical notation used in the Rossi Ms. is the closest to that described by Marchettus, and the polyphony of this manuscript is certainly more archaic than that of the madrigals of Giovanni, Piero and Jacopo, which we generally date between 1340 and 1350. The most advanced in style of the compositions in the Rossi fragment are precisely those which are to be found in later sources attributed to Giovanni da Firenze and to Piero. Therefore, if my hypothesis is correct, these two composers must have begun their activity in Padua before moving to Verona.

Thus a chain of dates, names, events, and even of musical documents leads without interruption from the treatises of Marchettus and the music at the court of Naples to the appearance of the three masters who represent the first known generation of Italian Ars Nova composers. Their activity at the courts of Mastino della Scala, and Luchino Visconti forms a chapter which is not altogether unknown, thanks both to contemporary testimony and to hints afforded by the texts of their compositions available for the most part in recent editions.

Some information on Giovanni da Firenze (or, more precisely, Giovanni da Cascia) is provided in the biography of Francesco Landini by Filippo Villani. We are told that Giovanni, "seeking a court position", came to the city ruled by Mastino, and not only composed many songs

[32] See about the language of the texts U. Sesini, "Il canzoniere musicale trecentesco del cod. Vat. Rossiano 215", *Studi medievali,* 16 (1943-50), 215. Metric forms corresponding to the descriptions of da Tempo are that of some madrigals without *ritornello,* or with one-line *ritornello,* or with a *ritornello* after every *terzetto,* and also the only known example of Italian fourteenth-century *rondeau,* which form da Tempo describes as *rotundellus.*

[33] *Dal bel castel se parte de Peschiera,* edited in J. Wolf, "Die Rossi-Handschrift 215", *Jahrbuch der Musikbibl. Peters,* 45 (1938), 67-68. See for a better edition of the text E. Li Gotti, *Poesie musicali italiane del sec. XIV* (from *Atti della R. Accad. di Scienze Lettere e Arti*), Palermo, 1945, 27, and Sesini, *op. cit.,* p. 219. See also F. Liuzzi, "Musica e poesia del Trecento, etc.", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accad.* as a love poem.
Romana di Archeologia, XII (1937), 59-71. The text has generally been interpreted

there, but came into competition with an expert musician from Bologna, "tyranno eos irritante muneribus" [34]. Villani is not always a reliable historian but what he relates about Giovanni is confirmed by existing musical documents. Giovanni competed with Jacopo da Bologna (mentioned but not named by Villani) and also with Piero, a musician of unknown origin and very few remaining works. The rivalry is revealed by their occasional setting of identical texts or texts on the same subject.

The most conspicuous case is a cycle of madrigals making constant reference to a lady living in a beautiful garden near a stream, who enjoys dancing or resting with other ladies near a tree of the type called *perlaro* [35]. Her name, Anna, is never clearly distinguished in the poetry; but its two syllables, hidden among other words, are always emphasized in the musical setting by repetitions [36]. As in many love stories, this one begins with sweetness and light, then turns to acrimony as the lady changes her mind. So the end of the "tale of the *perlaro*" is probably to be found in another group of madrigals, in which the rejected lover no longer pictures the lady as a human being, but rather as a cruel serpent. Finally the lady replies in a madrigal with the music of Giovanni da Cascia [37] :

Donna già fui leggiadr' ANNAmorata
Faccendo al servo mio dolce sembiante;
Or sono in biscia orribil tramutata
Sol per uccider questo falso amante.
Non so come 'l suo cor mai lo sofferse
Ch' a dirmi villania se discoperse.
Com' io di tormentarlo sia ben saçia
Tornerò donna, renderoll' in graçia.

It is noteworthy that all three musicians took part in the cycle. Yet it is hard to believe that they were speaking for themselves. Clearly the pieces

[34] F. Villani, *Liber de civitatibus Florentiae famosis civibus* ed. by G. G. Galletti, Florence, 1847, 74. We can sense in Villani's words the disdain of the republican writer for a Florentine who would debase himself by seeking the favor of a tyrant. See for a better text E. Li Gotti, "Il più antico polifonista del sec. XIV", *Italica,* XXIV (1947), 196-200.

[35] See E. Li Gotti, "Anna, o dell' amor segreto", and N. Pirrotta, "Note ad Anna, o dei dispetti amorosi", respectively, in *Accademia* (Palermo, 1945), fasc. I, 9-11, and fasc. 2, 7.

[36] See the *ritornelli* of Giovanni's *Apres' un fiume chiaro* and *O perlaro gentil* (CMM 8, 1, pp. 10 and 27-28), of Piero's *All' ombra d' un perlaro* (*Fourteenth-Century Canonic Madrigals* ed. by R. C. Fosse, Princeton, 1954, 23), of Jacopo's *Un bel perlaro vive sulla riva* and *O dolce, appress'un bel perlaro, fiume (The Works of Jacopo da Bologna* ed. by W. T. Marrocco, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954, 75 and 104).

[37] See for the music CMM 8, I, pp. 12-14. The form of the poem is actually that of a *rispetto* (sometimes also called *dispetto).*

were commissioned by an unknown lord, possibly Mastino himself, and his beloved. On another occasion Giovanni and Piero set the same text, with only a slight variant, describing a hunt on the bank of the river Adda, which passes through the domain of the Visconti [38]. Jacopo and Piero likewise set a madrigal in praise of a Margherita [39], who might have been a natural daughter of Mastino, or even the famous Margherita Pusterla beloved by Luchino Visconti, lord of Milan. Certainly in honor of Luchino are a madrigal and a motet by Jacopo, the only Italian motet known from this period; both spell out his name in an acrostic [40]. Finally the only text which mentions a specific date, August 4, 1346, is Jacopo's madrigal *O in Italia felice Liguria,* composed for the occasion of the baptism of twins born from Luchino Visconti and his wife Isabella Fieschi [41].

One further point remains. The ruling families of Verona and Milano, the Scaligeri and Visconti, were at this time the most powerful in Northern Italy. They were rivals not only in matters of political power, but also in matters of princely prestige. Despite this, none of the compositions of Giovanni and Piero appear to be later than the deaths of Luchino Visconti (1349), Mastino (1351), and Alberto (1352). Very few pieces by Jacopo da Bologna go beyond these dates [42]. This would seem to indicate that, although brilliant, this polyphony was tied to situations of a quite personal nature. Even in the courts of Verona and Milan the successors of Luchino, Mastino, and Alberto seem to have been far less fond of polyphony than their predecessors; or else thay lacked the opportunity to indulge such a taste owing to internal and external struggles. Thus, apart from a few sporadic revivals (among which the most conspicuous was again in Padua under the Carraresi), music in Northern Italy was compelled to return to monodic chant, which, despite appearances to the contrary, was always the music most widely diffused.

In the second half of the century the main stream of polyphonic music moves to Florence. But that belongs to a different chapter of this story, a chapter I leave to another occasion: it would take us to the summit of

[38] *Con brachi assai e con molti sparveri.* Both pieces are published in *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce,* ed. by W. T. Marocco, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, 15-20; the setting by Giovanni also in CMM 8, 1, pp. 44-46.

[39] *Si come al canto della bella Iguana.* By Jacopo there is also a madrigal beginning *Lucida petra, o Margherita cara.* Jacopo's settings are both published by W. T. Marrocco, (*The Works of J. da B.,* 58-59 and 91).

[40] *Lux purpurata radiis* and *Lo lume vostro,* both published by W. T. Marrocco, (*The Works of J. da B.,* 56-57 and 60-62). See also *ibidem,* p. 2.

[41] *Ibidem,* p. 2 and 76-77.

[42] *Aquila altera* by Jacopo probably refers to emperor Charles IV, who came in Italy in 1554.

that island to which we have compared the Italian Ars Nova, and it might bear the title "Antonio Squarcialupi and the Florentine Ars Nova".

Let me explain such a title, and why it includes the name of the famous organist of the Medici, who lived when the period of the Ars Nova was already over. As is known, his name is attached to the largest and most beautiful of Florentine Mss. of the Ars Nova. Antonio Squarcialupi owned this codex. At his death Latin and Italian eulogies written by humanists were inscribed in it. I believe him to have been not only the possessor of the Ms., but also the promoter of its composition. The Ms. seems to me quite late, close to the middle of the 15th century, and in the beauty of its miniatures and the perfection of its execution approximates the manuscripts written in the well-known workshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci. And it bears the stamp of an interest no longer purely musical, but imbued with the humanistic spirit of the conservation of art-works of the past.

This Ms. not only includes more than half of the Ars Nova compositions, but provides a very high number of *unica,* which would otherwise have been lost. It must have been the result of painstaking and loving research, without which we would know but a few, or none of the pieces by Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato, and Andrea, and even our knowledge of Landini's work would be considerably diminished. Were there no Squarcialupi Ms., Florentine polyphony would appear as it really was: an art concealed in the silence of monasteries and churches, and in which a small number of literary men and musical amateurs took an interest, no doubt imitating the polyphonic fashion of the Northern courts. Only with Landini was a somewhat larger public reached; but very soon popular taste prevailed in music as in the other arts, and led back to monody, while the courts accepted a new fashion, a new etiquette, and a new artistic taste, suggested this time by a different model, the court of Burgundy.

Finally, to complete the journey over our island, to the opposite shore which marks the end of this historical phase, we can invoke the aid of another Paduan theorist, Prosdocimus de Beldemandis. "Prosdocimus contra Marchettum" might be the title of the final chapter, which, together with the two preceding, could perhaps render less secret the Secret of the Quattrocento.

THE MANUSCRIPT OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, CANONICI MISC. 213

GILBERT REANEY *

The two manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213 (*O*) and Bologna, Bibl. G.B. Martini Q 15 (*olim* Liceo Musicale 37) (*BL*) are of the greatest importance for the music of the early fifteenth century in general and for the works of Guillaume Dufay in particular. Both are closely related, though *O* contains a slightly earlier repertoire than *BL*, a fact betrayed by its emphasis on secular works. In spite of its importance however, no inventory has yet been made of *O*, though Stainer published an alphabetical index with a useful though insufficient thematic index (first few notes of the Cantus only) over fifty years ago [1]. Recently a comprehensive inventory of *BL* was published in *Musica Disciplina* [2], and we hope to fill a gap by doing the same for the equally valuable source *O*. A thematic index has not been included since all the unpublished works will shortly be available in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* of the AIM. As this edition is not mentioned in the inventory, I shall briefly indicate that the works by French composers will be included in two volumes of Early Fifteenth Century French Music, which will contain (a) the complete works of the composers named in *O* [3] and (b) all the anonymous pieces. A third volume is to contain Italian music. Cordier, Cesaris, Carmen and Tapissier are being published first in a separate volume.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213 (*O*) is a paper manuscript measuring 29.8 x 21.5 cm, and "is bound in white parchment with brown lettering-piece, like some hundreds of Canonici's

* "My thanks are due in particular to Dr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, and in general to anyone who has helped with the preparation or checking of this inventory".

[1] Sir John, J. F. R. and C. Stainer, *Dufay and His Contemporaries*, 1898, 199-207.

[2] II (1948), 231-257.

[3] Dufay and Binchois excepted, though only one Binchois piece in *O* has not been published (no. 100).

MSS" [4]. It consists of 140 folios in 10 fascicles, preceded by 4 unnumbered folios containing a semi-complete alphabetical index (letters E to X), which sometimes gives the names of composers. There are in addition two binder's flyleaves, one at the front and one at the back of the manuscript. The notation, except in *O* 33, 34, 44, 179 and 302, is white and uses the characteristic 12 fiveline staves to a page. The size of the fascicles varies from 6 folios to 24, and Heinrich Besseler's contention that *O* was wrongly bound in the first place [5] seems to be borne out not only by the chronological order of the pieces but by the increase in the size of these gatherings. Fascicles 5-8 contain the earliest pieces and these stick to the old principle of using gatherings of 5, 6 and 7 sheets. The later fascicles 9-10 are admittedly even smaller, but the latest of them all, fascicles 1-4, are all large, consisting of gatherings of 8, 9, 11 and 12 sheets respectively. The earlier fascicles contain above all secular music, two pieces dating back to the time of *Ch*, which has a repertoire belonging principally to the 1380 s [6]. The names occurring are mainly those of the Franco-Burgundian chanson writers preceding or sometimes contemporary with Dufay and Binchois. Dufay is represented in fascicles 5-8 by only four works, two of which are the last two pieces in this group. Binchois too occurs only four times in this section, the first time anonymously. Yet Baude Cordier, who is almost unknown elsewhere, is represented by 6 Rondeaux and 1 Ballade, Johannes Cesaris by 5 Rondeaux and 1 motet, Pierre Fontaine by 5 Rondeaux and 1 Ballade (a further Rondeau in Fascicle 2), Loqueville by 4 Rondeaux and 1 Ballade (a further *Et in terra* in fascicles 4), etc. A glance at fascicles 9-10 shows an immediate difference. Not only are the names different, Dufay and the two Lantins being largely represented, but the French chanson is only sparingly admitted. There are on the other hand 7 Italian pieces to be found here, of which 3 are by Dufay. Here however the isorhythmic motet retains its sway and only two pieces of the Mass Ordinary are to be found, both by the little-known Bartholomeus de Bononia. With fascicles 1-4, the isorhythmic motet practically disappears, for there are only two examples out of 178 pieces, one of these being incomplete and the other anonymous. Songmotets and mass movements are now more frequent, though, except in the first fascicle, the chanson retains its domination.

It may be well at this point to consider the dates which have been inserted at different points throughout the manuscript. Arranged in chrono-

[4] E. W. B. Nicholson, introduction to *Dufay and His Contemporaries,* vii.

[5] See *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 240.

[6] See G. Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047" in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954).

logical order, these apply as follows: *O* 8 (1422), *O* 275 (8. VI. 1423), *O* 280 (1423), *O* 21 (12. VII. 1425), *O* 245 (1426), *O* 324 (1426), *O* 307 (1428), *O* 311 (March, 1428, Venice), *O* 14 (May, 1436, Venice). It is obvious that, as far as we can judge up to now, these dates are not those valid for the drawing up of the manuscript, though there is considerable agreement in the individual fascicles. Fascicle 1, which we have characterised as one of the later fascicles, contains the earliest dated piece, though it also contains the latest one, but this exception is easily explained by the fact that *O* 14 is a later addition to the manuscript corpus. Fascicle 8 on the other hand contains three pieces which can be dated 1423. *O* 275 and 280 are dated in the manuscript [7], while *O* 301 is evidently an epithalamium for Carlo Malatesta and Vittorio Colonna, who were married in 1423. Again fascicle 9 has two pieces by Arnold de Lantins, *O* 307 and 311 which are both dated 1428, one of them in March of that year at Venice. In any case, if the Ms is a copy, as Nicholson suggests [8], a certain confusion in the order of pieces would be possible. The fact that two pieces with date are marked Venice suggests that the manuscript or its original was written in Venice, and certainly Canonici himself was a Venetian. The one piece marked Rome (*O* 156) has significantly enough no date and would seem to have a personal connection with Dufay. Unlike the other pieces with place-names *O* 156 definitely states that Dufay composed it in Rome. The other pieces with dates only mention composition incidentally, so that I take it they refer to the date of writing down, probably writing down in the original since an examination of the various hands employed in *O* confirms the unchronological order implied by the written dates under discussion. Although Nicholson's preliminary study of the dialect employed by the writers of *O* suggests a Milanese origin for the manuscript [9], and a North Italian origin is certain, I feel that Venice is still very probably the town where the codex was written. After all, the supplementary pieces on fols. 14-16 v are valuable in proving this. Unlike *O* 311 they could not have existed in the original of which *O* is a copy, yet *O* 14 still bears the place-name Venice. We know too that Venice was an important centre for the production of polyphonic Laude about 1440, the date when *O* 15 and 16 and the similar fragments on fol. 16 must have been written. Nor must we forget that many compositions in *O* deal with Venice and its great men, and nearby towns like Vicenza, e.g. *O* 3, 33, 66, 116, 275, 301, 310.

[7] *O* 275 however was not composed in 1423, since Georgio Ordelaffi, for whom this wedding motet was composed, died in 1422. Cf. N. Pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca" III, in *Musica Disciplina* V (1951), 138, n. 74.

[8] *Dufay,* ix-xi.

[9] *Dufay,* xviii.

THE CONTENTS

Codex *O* contains 326 pieces, of which 1 has been copied twice in different fascicles, so that the real number of works, if we except the anonymous fragments on fol. 16, is 325. Rondeaux and Rondeau refrains form the large majority of these, totalling 187 numbers. (It should be remembered however that these often take up only a quarter or even a sixth or less of the space needed for the notation of a Mass movement or a motet.) The remaining 138 works are composed of parts of the Mass Ordinary, motets, Ballades, Virelais, Ballate, Chansons and Laude. The following table show the exact distribution of the contents of *O*, according to the various species mentioned above. The numbers are those of the progressive numeration assigned in the inventory proper. Those numbers followed by an asterisk refer to *unica*.

TABLE 1

Species	Total	Number in *O*
Kyrie	1	132.
Gloria	12	1, 122, 123*, 124*, 126, 128*, 133, 240*, 242, 244, 317*. 143
Credo	6	2, 134, 160, 245, 264*, 319*.
Sanctus	1	149.
Agnus Dei	1	142.
Antiphon-Motet	1	129.
Ballades	38	21*, 29*, 46*, 70*, 74*, 77*, 81*, 82*, 83, 101*, 111*, 113, 115*, 116*, 148*, 159*, 167*, 173, 190*, 196, 200*, 201*, 223*, 228, 236*, 239*, 246*, 247*, 249*, 252*, 271*, 273, 282*, 285*, 287, 300*, 301*, 314*.
Chansons	3	50, 94*, 203*.
Italian Ballate	22	27*, 32*, 34*, 35*, 36*, 37*, 45*, 66*, 75*, 150*, 156*, 157*, 232*, 235*, 237*, 299*, 302*, 304, 313*, 315*, 316*, 320*.
Italian Ballate refrains	3	39*, 67*, 76*.
Lauda-Motet	1	312.
Laude	3	15*, 16*, 109.

Species	Total	Number in *O*
Motets (non-isorhythmic)	19	3, 5*, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13*, 14*, 33, 38, 42, 44*, 80, 96, 178, 179, 305, 309.
Motets (isorhythmic)	17	8*, 40*, 51, 68*, 241*, 267*, 272*, 274*, 275*, 277, 279*, 303, 306*, 308, 310, 321, 322*.
Rondeaux	159 (1 twice)	4, 10, 17*, 18*, 19, 20, 22*, 23, 25*, 28, 30*, 31*, 41, 47*, 48*, 49*, 52, 54*, 55, 57, 60*, 63*, 64 (= 307), 69*, 71*, 73, 78*, 79*, 84, 86, 87*, 88*, 89*, 90*, 91*, 92*, 93*, 95*, 97*, 98, 99, 100*, 102*, 103*, 104*, 105, 107, 108, 110*, 112*, 114*, 118, 119, 120, 127*, 130*, 131*, 135, 136*, 137, 138*, 139*, 140, 141, 144*, 145*, 146*, 147*, 151*, 152, 153, 154*, 155*, 158*, 161, 162*, 163, 164*, 165, 166*, 168*, 169*, 170*, 171*, 172, 174, 175*, 176, 177*, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185*, 187*, 188*, 189*, 191*, 192, 193, 194*, 197, 198*, 199*, 204*, 209*, 211*, 213*, 214*, 215*, 217*, 219, 220*, 221*, 225*, 227*, 229*, 230, 231*, 233, 238, 243*, 248*, 250*, 251*, 253*, 254*, 255*, 256*, 257*, 258*, 259*, 261*, 266*, 268*, 269*, 270*, 276, 278*, 280*, 281*, 283*, 284*, 288*, 289*, 290*, 291*, 292*, 293*, 294*, 295*, 296*, 297*, 298*, 307 (= 64), 318, 323*, 324*, 325*, 326*.
Rondeau refrains	28	43*, 53*, 56*, 58*, 59*, 61*, 62*, 65*, 72*, 85, 106*, 117*, 121*, 125*, 195, 202*, 205*, 206*, 207*, 208*, 210*, 212*, 218*, 222*, 224, 265*, 286*, 311.
Virelais	10	24*, 26*, 183*, 186*, 216*, 226*, 234*, 260*, 262*, 263*.

Included in the above lists are pieces concordant with the lost Ms *Str* (partially available in de Coussemaker's copy), *PC* (which sometimes contains Tenors only), *Bux* (keyboard arrangements) and *Brux* (*basse danse* Tenors). These may be checked from the concordance table and the inventory proper.

The species of the manuscript's contents have not determined the order of the pieces assigned to them, as in the cases *BL* and *Ao*. The concept of the unified Mass Ordinary is almost absent in the Ms, though nos. 132, 133, 134, 149 and 142 evidently form a complete Ordinary, the work of Arnold de Lantins. This assumption is confirmed by the Ms *BL*, where the Mass is also to be found, this time as a unit. Gloria-Credo pairs are found in *O* 1/2, *O* 244/245 and *O* 317/319, but in one case, *O* 122/160, the two units have been arbitrarily separated, if we are to judge from *BL*.

COMPOSERS

Many pieces in *O* bear the composer's name in the upper margin, although this has sometimes been cut off in the process of binding, sometimes irreparably. In a number of cases the author's name is furnished by other manuscripts, but of the 56 composers listed in Table 2, the names of all are to be found in *O* at least once. The list contains many names not to be found in other musical manuscripts, e.g. Adam (unless he is the Erasmus Adam mentioned in *Ao* 189), Franchois Lebertoul, Billart, Cardot, Charite, Chierisy, Coutreman, Dominicus de Feraria, Francus de Insula, R. Gallo, Haucourt (= Acourt), Malbecque, Paullet, Randulfus Romanus, Raulin de Vaux, P. del Zocholo de Portunaonis.

259 works can be definitely attributed to their authors, 4 numbers are the object of a double attribution and 62 are anonymous. The following list groups under each composer's name the works attributed to him, indicated by their ordinal number, according to the inventory published below. The figure representing the total number of works of each composer indisputably ascribed to him is, when necessary, followed by a second numeral giving the total number of works whose attribution is double, and in these cases the inventory number is followed by the name of the disputed composer in parentheses. Those numbers printed with asterisks refer to *unica,* which will be mentioned later.

The list of composers furnished by *O*, and the attribution to them of so many works, is assuredly one of the most significant aspects of the codex. As the following table makes clear, the foremost names of the early fifteenth century are abundantly represented in the Ms, and there is hardly one of them whose production would not suffer immeasurably, particularly in the secular field, if this manuscript had been lost or destroyed.

TABLE 2

Composer	No. of works	Number in *O*
Adam	3	162*, 164*, 168*.
Antonius de Civitate	2 + 1 Tr	262*, 275*, 8* (Tr).
Antonius Romanus	1 C	34*.
Bartholomeus de Bononia	4	315*, 317*, 319*, 320*.
Bartholomeus Brollo (= B. de Brolis)	6	67*, 69*, 72*, 73, 147*, 150*.
Benoit	1	114*.
Billart	1	267*.
Binchois	29 + 1	1, 2, 10, 47*, 49*, 79*, 83, 100*, 101*, 119, 120, 127*, 135, 136*, 140, 146*, 152, 154*, 158*, 163, 167*, 169*, 171*, 174 (Grossim), 177*, 181, 182, 192, 196, 298*.
Brasart	3	6, 7, 309.
Briquet	1	224.
Cardot	1	283*.
Carmen	2	40*, 321.
Cesaris	6	187*, 215*, 253*, 254*, 272*, 284*.
Charité	1	202*.
Chierisy	1	264*.
Ciconia	4	33, 240*, 242, 277.
Cordier	7	229*, 248*, 255*, 256*, 257*, 271*, 288*.
Coutreman	1	103*.
Dominicus de Feraria	1	316*.
Dufay	52 + 1	4, 17*, 19, 21*, 22*, 23, 25*, 28, 38, 42, 51, 55, 56*, 57, 58*, 59*, 60*, 75*, 85, 102*, 104*, 107, 113, 116*, 117*, 126, 129, 137, 139*, 151*, 153, 156*, 157*, 166*, 172, 173, 176, 204*, 276, 300*, 301*, 304, 308, 310, 312, 313*, 314*, 318, 323*, 324*, 325*.
Feragut	3	3, 5*, 12.
Fontaine	7	20, 193, 197, 219, 230, 238, 282*.
Franchois, Johannes	3	54*, 122, 160.
Francus de Insula	2 + 1 Tr and 1 Ct	228, 278*, 227* (Tr), 193* (Ct).
Gallo, R.	1	227*.
Grenon	5	53*, 180, 195, 279*, 303.
Grossim	3	41, 94*, 96.
Hasprois	2	252*, 287.

Composer	No. of works	Number in *O*
Haucourt (= Acourt)	2	18*, 183*.
La Beausse	1	194*.
Lantins, Arnold de	20	64 (= 307), 71*, 80, 84, 108*, 109*, 110, 111, 115*, 118, 132, 133, 134, 138*, 142, 149, 155*, 175*, 178, 307 (= 64), 311.
Lantins, Hugo de	20 + 1	32*, 39*, 45*, 52 (Arnold de Lantins), 61*, 63*, 65*, 66*, 87*, 88*, 89*, 90*, 91*, 105, 106*, 121*, 123*, 124*, 125*, 128*, 306*.
Lebertoul, Franchois	5	77*, 81*, 199*, 231*, 285*.
Le Grant Guillaume	5	216*, 226*, 244, 245, 260*.
Le Grant, Johannes	3	30*, 46*, 170*.
Libert, Gautier	3	191*, 243*, 280*.
Libert, R(eginaldus)	2	145*, 161.
Loqueville	6	143, 201*, 206*, 213*, 214*, 225*.
Malbecque	5	29*, 92*, 95*, 97*, 289*.
Passet	1	326*.
Paullet	1	249*.
P. J.	1	26*.
Prepositus Brisiensis	4	27*, 35*, 36*, 37*.
Quatris, Johannes de	1	14*.
Randulfus Romanus	1	76*.
Rezon	2	62*, 112*.
Rosso, P.	2	232*, 235*.
Ructis, Ar. de	1	305.
Salinis	1	179.
Sarto, Johannes de	2	9, 13*.
Tapissier, Jo.	1	322*.
Vaux, Raulin de	1	281*.
Velut, Gilet	5	198*, 200*, 236*, 239*, 241* (Akany).
Vide, Jacobus	7	31*, 48*, 98, 99, 165, 189*, 233.
Zachara, Antonius	1	237*.
Zacharias, Nicolaus	2	44*, 299*.
Zocholo de Portunaonis, P. del	1	15*.

CONCORDANCES

The codex *O* has the large number of 227 *unica,* almost three-quarters of the total number of pieces. Of the earlier works many are anonymous, but are not usually less interesting than those which have their composers' names appended. The following table shows the distribution of the *unica* among the various species represented in the manuscript.

TABLE 3

Species	Total	Species	Total
Gloria	5	Laude	2
Credo	2	Motets (non-isorhythmic)	4
Ballades	31	Motets (isorhythmic)	11
Chansons	2	Rondeaux	112
Italian Ballate	21	Rondeau refrains	24
Italian Ballate refrains	3	Virelais	10

It has been possible to attribute 170 of these works to various composers, leaving 57 anonymous pieces. The preceding Table 2 gives the distribution of this group among the composers represented in *O*. The remaining 98 numbers are already known from other manuscripts. The following table of concordances makes clear the relationship between *O* and the 31 manuscripts containing any one of the works copied therein, whether in whole or in part, in original version or arrangement.

TABLE 4

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *O*
Ao	5	122, 126, 143, 160, 244.
BL	43	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 20, 23, 33 (twice), 42, 51, 52, 80, 96, 105, 109, 122, 126, 129, 132, 133, 134, 142, 143, 149, 160, 178, 179, 224, 228, 233, 234, 238, 242, 244, 245, 277, 303, 305, 308, 310, 312, 321 (twice).
BU	12	12, 50, 80, 96, 132, 133, 134, 174, 178, 180, 304, 312.
Brux	2	120, 193.
Bux	3	73, 113, 196.
Ca 6	2	1, 160.
Ca 11	3	1, 2, 160.
Ch	2	273, 287.
Em	7	4, 80, 85, 96, 119, 160, 318.
Esc A	13	4, 10, 20, 28, 85, 119, 135, 140, 141, 152, 165, 174, 176.
Esc B	1 + 1 T and Ct	113, 119 (T and Ct only).
FP	2	273, 304.
Glog	1	73.
Kras	1	242.

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *O*
Loch	1	196.
Mod	1	287.
Mod B	1	38.
Mü L	2	57, 134.
Parma	1	219.
Pavia	1	113.
PC	7 complete, 14 T, 1 C, 1 T and Ct	41, 50 (T), 64 (= 307), 80 (T), 83, 84 (T), 85 (twice, once T only), 86, 96 (T), 98 (T), 107 (T), 108 (T), 118 (T), 119 (T), 129 (T), 163 (T), 181 (T), 192 (twice, once T only), 238 (C), 276 (T and Ct), 311.
PR	11	10, 19, 50, 55, 107, 137, 172, 176, 180, 195, 230.
Pz	7	180, 182, 192, 196, 197, 224, 230.
RU$_2$	1	119.
Sche	1	113.
StP	1	242.
Str	8	80, 99, 113, 153, 176, 179, 196, 230.
Tit	1	181.
Tr	19	1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 42, 96, 107, 113, 126, 129, 161, 173, 174, 181, 244, 309, 310.
Ven	1	129.
W$_4$	1	113.

WORKS CITED IN THE PRESENT INVENTORY

ApelN	Apel, Willi, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600,* Cambridge (Mass.), 4th ed., 1950.
BesB	Besseler, Heinrich, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig, 1950.
BesD	Besseler, Heinrich, ed., *Guillaume Dufay, Zwölf geistliche und weltliche Werke,* Wolfenbüttel, 1932, 2nd ed. 1951.
BesM	Besseler, Heinrich, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* Potsdam, 1931-1934.
BesU	Besseler, Heinrich, *Der Ursprung des Fauxbourdons,* in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948), 106-112.
BorrenD	Borren, Charles van den, *Guillaume Dufay: son importance dans l'évolution de la musique au XVe siècle,* Brussels, 1926.
BorrenL	Borren, Charles van den, ed., *Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance liégeoise (XVe siècle),* Brussels, 1950.
Bukofzer	Bukofzer, Manfred, ed., *Guillaume Dufay, Ave Regina Celorum, Two Motets a cappella,* Music Press No. 116, New York, 1949.
Closson	Closson, Ernest, *Le Ms. dit des Basses Danses de la Bibliothèque de Bougrgogne,* Brussels, 1912.
Dannemann	Danneman, Erna, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund vor dem Auftreten Dufays,* Strasburg, 1936.
Dischner	Dischner, Oskar, ed., *Kammermusik des Mittelalters. Chansons der 1. und 2. niederländischen Schule für drei bis vier Streichinstrumente herausgegeben,* Augsburg, 1927.
Droz et Thibault	Droz, Eugenie et Thibault, Genevieve, eds., *Poètes et musiciens du XVe siècle,* Paris, 1924.
DTO	*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich,* Jahrgang VII, 1900 and XI, 1904 (ed. by G. Adler and O. Koller); Jahrgang XXVII[1] (Bd. 53), 1920 (ed. by R. Ficker and A. Orel); Jahrgang XXXI (Bd. 61), 1924 (ed. by R. Ficker), Vienna, 1900-1924.
Gurlitt	Gurlitt, Willibald, ed., *Gilles Binchois, Sechzehn weltliche Lieder zu 3 Stimmen,* Wolfenbüttel, 1933.
HAM	Apel, Willi and Davison, Archibald, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music* I, Cambridge (Mass.), 2nd ed., 1949.
Lisio	Lisio, Giuseppe, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Dufay,* Bologna, 1893; G. Lisio and Fr. X. Hhaberl, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata da Guillaume Dufay,* in *Rivista Musicale Italiana* I (1894), 257-266.
Marix	Marix, Jeanne, ed., *Les Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle,* Paris, 1937.
OxH	*Oxford History of Music,* 1901-1934. References are to the first edition, ed. by Sir Henry Hadow, vols. 1 and 2 written by H. E. Wooldridge.
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. by F. Blume, Kassel and Basel, 1949-.

Ockeghem	Plamenac, Dragan, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem, Sämtliche Werke* I, Leipzig, 1927.
Pirro	Pirro, Andre, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XVe siècle à la fin du XVIe,* Paris, 1940.
PS	Borren, Charles van den, ed., *Polyphonia Sacra,* Burnham, 1932.
Ringmann	H. Ringmann and J. Klapper, eds., *Das Glogauer Liederbuch,* 2 vols., Kassel, 1936-1937.
Scelta	Della Corte, Andrea, ed., *Scelta di musiche,* Milan, 1949.
Schering	Schering, Arnold, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen,* Leipzig, 1931.
SIMG	*Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* 15 vols., Leipzig, 1899-1914.
Stainer	Stainer, Sir John, J. F. R. and C., ed., Dufay and his Contemporaries, London, 1898.
VanD	*Guglielmi Dufay, Opera Omnia,* ed. G. de Van, 1-4, Rome, 1947-1949.
WolfG	Wolf, Johannes, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460,* 3 vols., Leipzig, 1904.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

Ao	Aosta, Bibl. del Seminario, no shelf-mark. Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), 22-37.
BL	Bologna, Bibl. G. B. Martini Q 15 (*olim* Liceo Musicale 37). Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), 234-257.
BU	Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria 2216. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Musica Disciplina* VI (1952), 58-65.
Brux	Brussels, Bibl. royale, 9085. Facsimile in Closson.
Bux	Munich, Staatsbibl., Cim. 352b (= mus. 3725).
Ca 6	Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, ms. 6. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 243 f.
Ca 11	Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, ms. 11. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 243 f.
Ch	Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047. Inventory by G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954).
Em	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3232 a. Inventory by K. Dèzes, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X (1927), 79-99.
Esc A	Escorial, Bibl., ms. V. III. 24. Description by P. Aubry, SIMG VIII (1907), 517-519 (corrections by H. Besseler, MGG III, Sp. 1521).
Esc B	Escorial, Bibl., ms. a. IV. 24. Description by P. Aubry, SIMG VIII (1907), 530-532 (incomplete).
FP	Florence, Bibl. nazionale, Panciatichiano 26. Provisional list, WolfG I, 245-249.
Glog	Berlin, Öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, ms 40098. The *Glogauer Liederbuch.* Thematic index in Ringmann I, 102-119.
Kras	Warsaw, Bibl. Krasinski, ms. 52.
Loch	Berlin, Öffentliche wiss. Bibl., ms. 40613. The *Lochamer Liederbuch.* Inventory by W. Salmen, *Das Lochamer Liederbuch,* Leipzig, 1951, 27-30.

Mod	Modena, Bibl. Estense, *a.* M. 5. 24 (*olim* lat. 568). Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Atti della Reale Acad. de Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* Series 4, vol. V, 2 (1945), 116-120, and offprint 1946.
ModB	Modena, Bibl. Estense, *a.* x. I, 11 (*olim* VI. H. 15 and lat. 471).
MüL	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3224. Index by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 235 f., and WolfG I, 189 f.
Parma	Parma, Archivio del Stato, ms 52. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 232.
Pavia	Pavia, Bibl. Universitaria, Aldini 362. List of contents by L. Marchi and G. Bertolani, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia* I, Pavia, 1894, 202-204.
PC	Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 4379. Inventory of ff. 1-42 v by D. Plamenac, *Musical Quarterly* XXXVIII (1952), 100-117, 248-249, 260-265; incomplete inventory of ff. 43-60 v, WolfG I, 211-213; index of tenors on ff. 61-65 by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 233.
PR	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouv. acq. franc. 6771. Provisional list WolfG I, 261-267.
Pz	Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouv. acq. franç. 4917.
RU$_2$	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1411. List of works, WolfG I, 192.
Sche	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3232 (*olim* germ. cgm. 810). The *Schedel*sches Liederbuch.
StP	Formerly St. Petersburg, Bibl., F. I. 378. Whereabouts now unknown.
Str	Strasburg, Bibl. de la ville M. 222 C. 22. Inventory by Ch. van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp, 1924.
Tit	London, British Museum, Cotton Titus A XXVI. Index by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 233.
Tr	Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, mss 87-92 and Archivio capitolare del Duomo, ms 93. Inventory by O. Koller, *DTO* VII, 31-80, and R. Ficker, *DTO* 61, p. VII-X.
Ven	Venice, Bibl. Marciana, ital. IX, 145. Inventory of part 1 by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 237.
W$_4$	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, ms. extravag. 287.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMo	Antiphon-Motet	La	Lauda
B	Ballade	LaMo	Lauda-Motet
C	Cantus	Mo	Motet
cft.	contrafactum	O	Ordinary of the Mass
Ch	Chanson	R	Rondeau
Ct	Contratenor	Rr	Rondeau refrain
isMo	Isorhythmic Motet	T	Tenor
itB	Italian Ballata	Tr	Triplum
itBr	Italian Ballata refrain	*Tro*	Trope
		V	Virelai

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(O)

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fascicle 1					
1	1 - 2	Et in terra	2^2+3^2	O	Binchois	*BL* 120; *Ca* 6, 10 (an.); *Ca* 11, 9 (an.); *Tr* 1366	Edn. PS, 53.
2	2v- 4	Patrem	3^1+2^2	O	(Binchois)	*BL* 121; *Ca* 11, 19 (an.); *Tr* 1367 (an.)	Edn. PS, 63.
3	4v- 5	Excelsa civitas Vincentia	3^1	Mo	B. Feraguti	*BL* 271	Franc. Malipiero. Facs. BesB, pl.V. Edn. PS, 249.
4	5	Craindre vous vueil	3^1	R	G. Dufay	*Em* 102 (an.) (2 voc.) (cft.); *EscA* f. 12v-13 (an.); *Tr* 1079 (an.)	Acrostic „Caterine Dufay". Edn. BesD, no. 7; DTO VII, 250.
5	5v- 6	Ave Maria gratia plena	3^1	Mo	Beltrame Feragu (ti)		Edn. PS, 253.
6	6v- 7	Summus secretarius	4^2	Mo	Pbr. Johannes Brasart	*BL* 275	Holy Ghost. Edn. PS, 235.
7	7v- 8	O flos flagrans iam vernalis	3^1	Mo	Pbr. Johannes Brasart de Leodio	*BL* 264; *Tr* 129	Edn. DTO VII, 102.
8	8v	Inclita persplendens	1^1	isMo	Fr(ater) Antonius de Civitato		Incomplete. *Ad honorem Sancte Katerine, 1422.* Edn. PS, 186.
	9	(Blank)					
9	9v-10	O quam mirabilis	3^1	Mo	Pbr. Johannes de Sarto	*BL* 276; *Tr* 1528 (an.)	Edn. DTO VII, 215.
10	9v-10	Jamais tant que je vous revoye	3^1	R	Binchois	*EscA* f. 47 (T only) (an.); *PR* f. 96v (an.)	Edn. Stainer, 64.
11	10v-11	Gaude Dei genitrix	4^2	Mo	—	*Tr* 1527	Edn. PS, 225.
12	11v-12	Francorum nobilitati	3^1	Mo	B. Feraguti	*BU* 41	Edn. PS, 257.
13	12v-13	Verbum Patris hodie	3^1	Mo	Pbr. Johannes de Sarto		Edn. PS, 280.
14	13v-14	Et exultavit spiritus meus	4^2	Mo	Pbr. Johannes de Quatris		*1436 mensis maii Venet(iis).* Edn. PS, 137.
	14v-15	(Blank except for a few notes in score in a later hand)					

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
15	15v	Verbum caro factum est	2^0	La	Pbr. P. del Zocholo de Portunaonis		Incomplete. In a later hand. Edn. PS, 290.
	16	(anonymous fragments)					Edn. PS, 290.
16	16v	Verbum caro factum est	3^3	La	—		Edn. PS, 291.
		Fascicle 2					
17	17	Ce jour de l'an voudray joye mener	3^3	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Facs. Stainer, pl. I. Edn. Stainer, 102.
18	17	Je demande ma bienvenue	3^1	R	Acourt		Facs. Stainer, pl. I. Edn. Stainer, 50.
19	17v	Ce moys de May	3^3	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y	*PR* f. 103v-104 (3^2 an.)	Edn. Stainer, 105.
20	17v-18	J'ayme bien celui qui s'en va	2^1	R	Petrus Fontaine	*BL* 250 (3 voc.); *EscA* f. 49v-50 (3 voc.) (an.) (Ct. Trompette)	Edn. SIMG VIII (1907), 527 f. (after *EscA*).
21	18	Je me complains piteusement	3^3	B	Guillermus Dufay		*1425 adi. 12. lujo.* Edn. Stainer, 108.
22	18v	Pour ce que veoir je ne puis	3^2	R	Guillermus Dufay		Edn. Stainer, 113.
23	18v	Par droit je puis bien complaindre	4^2	R	Guille(rmus) du[illegible]y	*BL* 230 (3 voc.)	„Fuga duorum temporum". Edn. Stainer, 115.
24	19	Douce speranche mye confort tout	3^1	V	—		
25	19v-20	Mon cuer me fait tous dis penser	4^4	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Edn. Stainer, 118.
26	19v-20	Se je ne mal fors que par leesce	3^1	V	P.J.		
27	20v	I pensieri dolçe amor	2^2	itB	Prepositi Brisiensis		
28	20v-21	Estrinés moy, je vous estrineray	3^1	R	G. Dufay	*EscA* f. 59v	Some text in T.
29	21	Adieu vous di, mes seigneurs et amis	3^1	B	Guillermus Malbecque		
30	21v	Se liesse est de ma partie	3^1	R	Johannes Legrant		Edn. Stainer, 164.
31	21v	Vit encore ce faux dangier	3^1	R	Jacobus Vide		Edn. Marix, no. 17.
32	22	Per amor de costey	3^3	itB	Hugo de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 29.
33	22v-23	O felix templum iubila	3^2	Mo	Magister Johannes Ciconia de Leodio	*BL* 216 & 326	Stefano Carrara. Edn. PS, 243.
34	23v	De si t'amo con fede	1^1	itB	Antonius Romanus		Incomplete.
35	24	Or s'avanta omay chi vol amore	3^1	itB	Prepositi Brisiensis		
36	24v	I ochi, i ochi d'una ancolleta	3^1	itB	Prepositi Brisiensis		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
37	25	O spirito gentil, tu m'ay percosso	2^2	itB	Prepositi Brisiensis		
38	25v-26	Flos florum, fons ortorum	5^3	Mo	Guillermus du[illegible]y	*BL* 234; *ModB* f. 56v-57	Edn. BesD, no. 1; VanD I, 11.
39	26	Mirar non posso ni conçerner	3^2	itBr	U. de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 30.
40	26v-27	Pontifici decori speculi	4^2	isMo	Johannes Carmen		St. Nicholas. "Fuga trium temporum". Facs. Stainer, pl. II-III. Edn. Stainer, 88.
41	27	Va t'ent, souspier, je t'en supplie	3^2	R	Grossim	*Pc* f. 49v-50 (an.) (varied T)	Facs. Stainer, pl. III. Edn. Stainer, 172.
42	27v-28	Anima mea liquefacta est	5^3	Mo	G. Dufay	*BL* 235; *Tr* 142	Edn. DTO 53, 20.
43	28	Je vous vieng voir, ma dame amye	3^1	Rr	—		
44	28v-29	Letetur plebs fidelis Pastor qui revelavit	4^1+1	Mo	Nicolaus Zacharie		Edn. PS, 284.
45	29v	Io sum tuo servo, o dolce anima bella	3^3	itBr	Hugo de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 31.
46	30	Entre vous, nouviaux mariés	3^3	B	Johannes Legrant		Edn. Stainer, 167.
47	30	Nous vous verens bien, Malebouche	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Stainer, 67.
48	30v	Las, j'ay perdu mon espintel	2^1	R	Jacobus Vide		Edn. Marix, no. 15.
49	30v	Amours et qu'as tu en pensé	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 23.
50	31	La belle se siet au pié de la tour	3^2	Ch	G. du[illegible]y	*BU* 77 (2 voc.) (an.); *PC* f. 61 (T only) (an.); *PR* f 108v-109 (2 voc.) (an.)	Edn. Stainer, 122.
51	31v-32	O sancte Sebastiane O martir Sebastiane O quam mira refulsit gratia T. Gloria et honore	4^1+1+1	isMo	Guillermus du[illegible]y	*BL* 211	St. Sebastian. Edn. VanD II, 17.
52	32v	Chanter ne scay, ce poyse moy	3^2	R	Hugo de Lantins	*BL* 20 (Ar. de Lantins)	Edn. BorrenL, no. 27.
53	32v	Je suy défait se vous ne me refaites	3^1	Rr	Nicolaus Grenon		Edn. BesM, 192; Stainer, 162.
54	33	Sans oubliier, sans faire départye	3^1	R	Johannes Franchois		Edn. BorrenL, no. 33.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
55	33v	Je veul chanter de cuer joieux	3^2	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y	*PR* f. 102v-103 (an.)	Acrostic: Jehan de Dinant.
56	33v	Hélas, ma dame, par amours	3^1	Rr	G. Dufay		BesB, Appendix, no. 1.
57	34	Hé compaignons, resvelons nous	4^2	R	Guillermus Dufay	*MüL* 2	Edn. Stainer, 127.
58	34v	Resvelons nous, resvelons, amoureux	3^{1+2}	Rr	G. Dufay		T & Ct in canon. Edn. Stainer, 132.
		Alons ent bien tos au may					
59	34v	Bien veignés vous, amoureuse liesse	3^1	Rr	G. du[illegible]y		T & Ct in canon.
60	34v	Entre vous, gentils amoureux	3^1	R	G. dufay		T & Ct in canon.
		Fascicle 3					
61	35	A ma damme playsant et belle	3^3	Rr	Hugho de[illegible]ntins		Facs. Stainer, pl. IV. Edn. (part): BesM, 194; (complete) BorrenL, no. 15; Stainer 174; Schering, no. 41.
62	35	Ce rondelet je vous envoye	2^{1+1}	Rr	Rezon		Facs. Stainer, pl. IV. Edn. Stainer, 185.
		Le dieu d'amours si vous l'otroye					
63	35v	J'ay ma joye ben perdue	3^3	R	Hugho de[illegible]ntins		Edn. BorrnL, no. 16.
64	35v-36	Se ne prenés de moy pité	3^2	R	(Arnold de Lantins)	O 307; *PC* f. 52v-55 (an.)	(1428.) Edn. BorrenL, no. 11.
65	36	Prendre couvint de tout en gré	3^2	Rr	Hugho de[illegible]ntins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 17.
66	36v-37	Tra quante regione el sol si mobele	3^2	itB	Hugho de Lantins		Marriage of Cleofe Malatesta, 1421. Part of Ct omitted. Edn. BorrenL, no. 32.
67	37	Pulcra, speciosa et decora	2^2	itBr	B(artholome)us de Brolis		Edn. PS, 292.
68	37v-38	Regina seculi salvatrix sempiterna	3^{2+2}	isMo	—		Edn. PS, 146.
		Reparatrix Maria					
69	37v-38	Nulx ne pouroit ymaginer	3^3	R	B(artholome)us Brollo		
70	38v	Qui le sien vuelt bien maintenir	3^3	B	—		
71	38v-39	Certes, belle, quant de vous partiray	3^2	R	Arn. de[illegible]ntins		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
72	39	Ma belle amour a qui je suy servant	3^1	Rr	B(artholomeu)s B(roll)o		
73	39v	Entrepris suis par grant lyesse	3^1	R	Bartholomeus Bruolo	*Bux* 106; *Glog* 102	Edn. BorrenL, no. 1. Edn. of *Glog*, Ringmann I, 80.
74	40	Qui est l'amant qui ne lairoit l'amer	2^2	B	—		
75	40v	L'alta belleza tua virtute valore	3^2	itB	Guillermus Dufay		
76	41	Perche la vista, dona, da me fuge	3^1	itBr	Randulfus Romanus		Edn. Stainer, 181.
77	41v	O mortalis homo que moventur O pastores quibus committuntur O vos multi quibus honor datur	3^1+1+1	B	Franchoys Lebertoul		Edn. PS, 273 (erroneous, but so is ms).
78	41v-42	Pleysir, soulas, desduit et joye	3^2	R	—		
79	42	Ma leesse a changié son non	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 40.
80	42v	Tota pulcra es, amica mea	3^1	Mo	Arnoldus de [illegible]ntins	*BL* 202 (4 voc.); *BU* 48 (3^2 voc.) (an.); *Em* 261 (4 voc.); *PC* f. 65 (an.) (T only); *Str* 23 (2 voc.)	Edn. PS, 262.
81	43	Au pain faitich ne me veul plus tenir	3^1	B	Franchoys Lebertoul		Facs. MGG IV, Sp. 629-630.
82	43v	Ariere tost charité, verité	3^1	B	—		Edn. (part) BesM, 190.
83	44	Amours merchi de trestout mon poir	3^1	B	Binchois	*PC* f. 50v-52 (3^3 voc.) (an.)	Text in Ct. Edn. Stainer, 69.
84	44	Ne me vueilliés, belle, oblier	3^2	R	Arnoldus de Lantins	*PC* f 62 (an.) (T only)	Edn. BorrenL, no. 2.
85	44v	Bon jour, bon mois	3^2	Rr	Guillermus Dufay	*Em* 31 (2 voc.) (an.) (cft); *EscA* f. 18v-19 (3^1 voc.) (an.); *PC* f. 52v-53 (an.) & f. 64 (an.) (T only)	Edn. Stainer, 134; BesD, no. 6. Complete text in *EscA*.
86	44v	Donés confort a vostre amy	3^1	R	—	*PC* f. 53v-54 (3^2 voc.)	
87	45	Grant ennuy m'est, tres douce	3^2	R	Hugho de [illegible]ntins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 18.
88	45v	Helas, amour que ce que endure	3^3	R	Hugo de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 19.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
89	45v-46	Je suy espris d'une damme amoureuse	3^2	R	Ugo de [illegible] ntins		Facs. (part) ApelN, 141. Edn. BorrenL, no. 20.
90	46	Ce j'eusse fait ce que je pence	3^2	R	Ugho de Lantins		Facs. ApelN, 141. Edn. BorrenL, no. 21; HAM, no. 72.
91	46v	Plaindre m'estuet de ma damme jolye	3^3	R	Ugo de [illegible] ntins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 22.
92	47	Ma volenté ne changera	3^2	R	Guillermus Malbecque		Edn. Stainer, 179.
93	47	Pourtant se j'ay le barbe grise	3^1	R	—		
94	47v-48	Tres douchement et soutiement	3^2	Ch	Grossim de Parisius		
95	48	Dieu vous doinst bon jour et demy	3^3	R	Malbecque		
96	48v-49	Imera dat hodierno	3^1	Mo	Grossim de Parisius	*BL* 203; *BU* 66; *Em* 156 (an.); *PC* f. 63v (an.) (T only); *Tr* 1481 (an.)	Edn. DTO VII, 208.
97	49	Ouvrés vostre huys aceste foys	3^3	R	Malbecque		
98	49v	Espoir m'est venu conforter	3^1	R	Jachobus Vide	*PC* f. 63v (an.) (T only)	Edn. Marix, no. 13.
99	49v	Puis que je n'ay plus de maystresse	3^1	R	Jacobus Vide	*Str* 172 (an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 16.
100	49v	Joyeux penser et souvenir	3^1	R	Binchois		
101	50	J'ay tant de deul que nul homs peut avoir	3^1	B	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 33.
102	50v	Belle, veulliés moy retenir	3^1	R	Guillermus Dufay		
103	50v	Vaylle que vaylle, il faut au moys de may	3^1	R	Coutreman		
104	51	J'atendray tant qu'il vous playra	3^3	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y (sic)		Edn. Stainer, 138.
105	51v	Mon doulx espoir, mon souvenir	3^3	R	Ugo de Lantins	*BL* 49	Edn. BorrenL, no. 23.
106	51v	Joly et gay je me tenray	2^2	Rr	Hugo de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 24.
107	52	Je ne suy plus tel que souloye	3^1	R	G. Dufay	*PC* f. 61v (an.) (T only); *PR* f. 97 (an.); *Tr* 118	Edn. DTO VII, 251.
108	52	Amour servir et honnourer	3^2	R	Ar(nold) de Lantins	*PC* f. 64 (an.) (T only)	Edn. BorrenL, no. 3.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
109	52v	In tua memoria, virgo mater nata	3^3	La	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 287 (an.)	Edn. PS, 267.
110	52v-53	Puisque je voy, belle, que ne m'amés	3^1	R	Ar(nold) de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 6; HAM no. 71.
111	53	Tout mon desir et mon voloir	3^2	B	Ar(nold) de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 7.
112	53v	Il est temps que je me retraye	3^1	R	[illegible] zon		
113	53v-54	Se la face ay pale	3^2	B	Guillermus du[illegible]y	*EscB* f. 135v-136 (textless) (an.); *Pavia* f. 65v; *RU*2 6; *Sche* 62; *Str* 128; *Tr* 778 (4 voc.) (an.); *W*4 f. 40v; *Bux* 83, 255	Edn. Stainer, 140.
114	54	De cuer joyeux je veul chanter	3^2	R	Benoit		
115	54v	Puisque je sui cyprianes	3^2	B	Arnoldus de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 8.
116	55v-55	C'est bien raison de devoir essaucier	3^1	B	Guillermus Dufay		Nicholas III of Ferrara. Edn. (part) BesM, 193 f.
117	55v	Je ne puis plus ce que y'ai peu T: Unde veniet auxilium michi	3^1	Rr	G. Dufay		Edn. Stainer, 143.
118	56	Esclave a dueil et forain de liesse	3^2	R	Arnoldus de[illegible]ntins	*PC* f. 64v-65 (an.) (T only)	Edn. BorrenL, no. 4.
119	56v	Adieu, adieu, mon joyeux souvenir	3^1	R	Binchois	*Em* 83; *EscA* f. 27v (an.); *EscB* f. 7 (T & Ct only) (an.); *PC* f. 64v (an.) (T only); *RU*2 3 (2 voc.)	Edn. Gurlitt, no. 1; Stainer, 74.
120	56v	Tristre plaisir et douloureuse joie	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Droz et Thibault, 29; Gurlitt, no. 14; OxH II, 177; Stainer, 72. *Poet*: Alain Chartier.
		Fascicle 4					
121	57	Je suy exent entre aman pour amour	3	Rr	Hugho de Lantins		Facs. ApelN, 177. Edn. BorrenL, no. 25.
122	57v-58	Et in terra	3^1	O	Johannes Franchois	*Ao* 74; *BL* 92	Edn. PS, 93.
123	58v-59	Et in terra	3^2	O	Ugo de Lantins		Edn. PS, 110.
124	59v-60	Et in terra	3^2	O	Ugo de Lantins		Text migrates through all parts. Edn. PS, 115.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
125	59v-60	Pour resjoyr la compaignie	5^3	Rr	Hugo de [illegible] ntins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 26.
126	60v-61	Et in terra	5^1	O	Guillermus Dufay	*Ao* 32 (Hugo de Lantins); *BL* 35 (Hugo de Lantins); *Tr* 917 (an.), 1727 (an.)	T has text. Edn. DTO 61, 15.
127	61	Toutes mes joyes sont estaintes	5^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 52.
128	61v	Et in terra	5^2	O	Hugo de Lantins		„Discantus facit tenorem." Edn. PS, 118.
129	62	Ave regina celorum	5^3	AnMo	Guillermus du [illegible] y	*BL* 225; *PC* f. 61v (an.) (T only); *Tr* 138; *Ven* 15 (an.)	Facs. ApelN, 119. Edn. Bukofzer.
130	62v	Veuilliés hoster de che dangier	5^1	R	—		
131	62v-63	Dame que j'ay loing tamp servie	5^1	R	—		
132	63 -63v	Kyrie *Tro* Verbum incarnatum	5^1	O	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 138; *BU* 2	Edn. PS, 1.
133	64 -64v	Et in terra	5^2	O	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 139 (an.); *BU* 3 (an.)	Edn. PS, 10.
134	65 -66	Patrem	5^1	O	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 140; *BU* 27 (an.); *MüL* 7 (fragm.)	Edn. Ps, 16.
135	66	Plains de plours et gemisemens	5^1	R	Binchois	*EscA* f. 16v-17 (an.)	Edn. Gurlitt, no. 10; Stainer, 77.
136	66v	Quoy que Dangier, Malebouche et leur gent	5^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 48.
137	66v	Se ma damme je puis veir	5^1	R	Guillermus Dufay	*PR* f. 112v (an.)	
138	67	Sans desplaisir et sans esmay	3^2	R	Arnoldus de [illegible] ntins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 9.
139	67	Je requier a tous amoureux	3^1	R	Guillermus Dufay		
140	67v	De plus en plus se renouvelle	5^1	R	Binchois	*EscA* f. 39v & 46v (an.) (2 separated pages of same piece)	Edn. Gurlitt, no. 5; HAM no. 69; Dischner, no. 7; Schering, no. 42; Stainer, 80; Ockeghem I, 78.
141	67v	Soyés loyal a vo povoir	5^1	R	—	*EscA* f. 55v	
142	68	Agnus dei	5^2	O	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 142 (an.)	Edn. PS, 34.
143	68v	Et in terra	5^2	O	Richardus Loqueville	*Ao* 76 (4^2 voc.) (an.); *BL* 61	Edn. PS, 134.
144	69	Mon povre cuer n'a que tristresse	5^1	R	—		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
145	69	Mon cuer s'en va d'umble vouloir	3^1	R	R. Libert		
146	69v	Les tres doulx yeux du viaire ma damme	3^1	R	Binchois		Facs. Stainer, pl. V. Edn. Marix, no. 38.
147	69v	O celestial lume agli ochi mei	2^2	R	Bartholomeus Brolo		Facs. Stainer, pl. V. Edn. Stainer, 83.
148	70	Musicorum decus et species	3^1	B	—		Edn. PS, 232.
149	70v-71	Sanctus *Tro* Qui hominem limo condidisti	3^3	O	Arnoldus de Lantins	*BL* 141	Edn. PS, 29.
150	71	Vivere et recte reminiscere	3^1	itB	Bartholomeus Brollo		Edn. PS, 293.
151	71v	Or pleust a Dieu qu'a son plaisir	3^1	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y		
152	71v	Mon seul et souverain desir	3^1	R	Binchois	*EscA* f. 20v-21 (an.)	Edn. Gurlitt, no. 9; Marix, no. 44.
153	72	Las, que feray ne que je devenray	3^1	R	Guillermus Dufay	*Str* 90 (2 voc.)	Edn. Stainer, 146.
154	72	Amours et souvenir de celle	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 24.
155	72v	Ce jour de l'an, belle, je vous supply	3^2	R	Arnoldus de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 5.
156	73	Quel fronte, signorille, in paradiso	3^2	itB	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Composed in Rome. Facs. ApelN, 103; Stainer, pl. VI. Edn. Stainer, 148.
157	73	Dona, i ardenti ray	3^2	itB	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Facs. ApelN, 103; Stainer, pl. VI.
158	73v	Mes yeulx ont fait mon cuer porter	3^1	R	Binchois		
159	74	Cuer triste et mas sans solas et sans joye	3^2	B	—		
160	74v-75v	Patrem	3^1	O	Johannes Franchoys	*Ao* 86; *BL* 93; *Ca* 6, 18 (an.); *Ca* 11, 20 (an.); *Em* 275 (fragm.)	Edn. PS, 99.
161	76	Mourir me voy, il est pic de ma vie	3^1	R	R. Libert	*Tr* 55	Facs. Stainer, pl. VII. Edn. DTO XI, 90; Stainer, 176.
162	76	Tout a caup m'ont tourné le dos	3^1	R	Adam		Facs. Stainer, pl. VII. Edn. Stainer, 52.
163	76v	Rendre me vieng a vous sauve la vie	3^1	R	Binchois	*PC* f. 65 (an.) (T only)	Edn. Marix, no. 49.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
164	76v	A temps vendra celle journee	3^1	R	Adam		Edn. Stainer, 54.
165	77	Il m'est si grif vostre depart	3^2	R	Jacobus Vide	*EscA* f. 5v-6 (3^1 voc.) (an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 14.
166	77	Je donne a tous les amoureux	3^1	R	G. du[illegible]y		Edn. Stainer, 150.
167	77v	Mesdisans m'ont cuidié desfaire	3^1	B	Binchois		Facs. Marix, opp. titlepage. Edn. Marix, no. 41.
168	77v	Au grief hermitage de plours	3^1	R	Adam		Facs. Marix, opp. titlepage. Edn. Stainer, 57.
169	78	Je ne pouroye estre joyeux	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 36.
170	78	Layssiés moy coy, je vous en prye	3^1	R	Johannes Legrant		Edn. Stainer, 169.
171	78v	Av douloureux disant helas	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 25.
172	78v	Navré je suy d'un dart penetratif	3^1	R	Guillermus Dufay	*Em* 198; *PR* f. 98 (an.)	
173	79	Ce jour le doibt, aussy fait la saison	3^1	B	Guillermus Dufay	*Tr* 121 (an.)	
174	79v	Lyesse m'a mandé salut	3^1	R	Binchois	*BU* 17 (an.); *EscA* f. 15v-16 (an.); *Tr* 152 (Grossim)	Edn. DTO VII, 255; Gurlitt, no. 7.
175	79v	Las, pouray je mon martire celer	3^2	R	Ar(nold) de Lantins		Edn. BorrenL, no. 10.
176	80	Pouray je avoir vostre mercy	3^1	R	Guillermus Dufay	*EscA* f. 24v-25; *PR* f. 97v (an.); *Str* 129	Edn. Stainer, 152.
177	80	En regardant vostre tres doulx maintieng	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Marix, no. 28.
178	80v	O pulcherrima mulierum	3^1	Mo	Arnoldus de[illegible]ntins	*BL* 178; *BU* 50 (an.)	Edn. PS, 269 & 272.
		Fascicle 5					
179	81	Jesu salvator seculi Quo vulneratus scelere	3^{1+1}	Mo	Ubertus de Psalinis	*BL* 213; *Str* 174 (2 voc.)	Edn. PS, 276.
180	81v	Se je vous ay bien loyalement amée	2^1	R	Nicolaus Grenon	*BU* 88 (an.) (2^2 voc.); *PR* f. 92v-93 (3^2 voc.); *Pz* f. 4v (an.) (2^2 voc.)	Edn. Dannemann, no. VI; Marix, no. 4.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
181	81v	Je me recomande humblement	3^1	R	(Binchois)	PC f. 61 (an.) (T only); *Tit* 5 (an.); *Tr* 117	Edn. DTO XI, 71.
182	82	Amoreux suy et me vient toute joye	3^1	R	Binchois	*Pz* f. 14v-15 (an.)	Some text in T. Edn. (opening): Danneman, no. 45; edn. Marix, no. 22.
183	82v	Se j'estoye aseurée	3^1	V	Haucourt		
184	83	Puis qu'il vous plet mon present retenir Pour ton present qui me fait resjouir	2^{1+1}	R	—		
185	83v	Mon plus haut bien, ma joye et mon desir	3^3	R	—		
186	84	Or sus, mon cuer, vers ma dame t'enclinne	2^2	V	—		
187	84v	Pour la doulour, l'annoy Qui dolente n'aura veu	2^{1+1}	R	Johannes Cesaris		Edn. Dannemann, no. VII.
188	84v	Conbien que loing de vous soye	2^2	R	—		„Fuga quatuor temporum."
189	85	Amans, doublés, or doublés vos amours	4^2	R	Jacobus Vide		Edn. Dischner, I, 13; Marix, no. 11.
190	85v	Dame d'onneur et de tous biens garnye	3^2	B	—		Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 44.
191	86	Se je me plains sans rayson	3^3	R	Gualterus Liberth		„Fuga quatuor temporum."
192	86v	Adieu m'amour et ma maistresse	3^1	R	Binchois	PC f. 58v-59 (an.) (3^2 voc.) (varied T) & f. 61 (an.) (T only); *Pz* f. 1 (an.)	Edn. Gurlitt, no. 2; Marix, no. 20.
193	86v-87	Sans faire de vous departie	3^1	R	P. Fontaine — Ct. by Francus de Insula	*Brux* 23	Edn. Dannemann, no. 18 & 25 (fragments); Marix, no. 9.
194	87	Or voist comme aler en porra	3^1	R	La Beausse		
195	87v	La plus jolie et la plus belle	3^3	Rr	Nicolaus Grenon	*PR* f. 91v-92 (an.)	Edn. Dannemann, no. V; Marix, no. 3.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
196	88	Je loe amours et ma dame mercye	3^1	B	Binchois	*Pz* f. 13v-14 (an.); *Str* 163 (an.); *Loch* 46 (cft.) (1 voc.) (an.); *Bux* 16, 17, 18, 168, 169, 170, 202 (an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 34.
197	88v	A son plaisir volentiers serviroye	3^3	R	P. Fontaine — Ct by G(rand) Guillem	*Pz* f. 17v-18 (an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 5.
198	89	Je voel servir plus c'onques mais	3^1	R	Gilet Velut		Edn. Stainer, 194.
199	89	Ma doulce amour et ma mestresse	3^1	R	Francois Lebertoul		
200	89v-90	Un petit oyselet chantant	3^1	B	Gillet Velut		
201	90	Quant compaignons s'en vont juer	3^1	B	R. Loqueville		
202	90v	Jusques a tant que je puisse veir Puisqu'ensy est que je ne puis veir Certes m'amour et ma doulce pensée	3^1+1+1	Rr	Charité		Edn. Stainer, 99.
		Fascicle 6					
203	91	N'a pas longtenps que trouvay Zephirus	2^1	Ch	—		
204	91v	Belle, plaissant et gracieuse	3^1	R	Guillermus du[illegible]y		
205	91v	Adieu, mon gracieux amy	3^1	Rr	—		
206	91v-92	Je vous pri que j'aye un baysier	3^1	Rr	R. Loqueville		Edn. Dannemann, no. III.
207	92	Le souvenir que doulx regart	2^2	Rr	—		
208	92	Je ne vous ose regarder Laysiés Dangier, Paour aler	2^1+1	Rr	—		
209	92v	Adieu vous di puisqu'ensi est	4^2	R	—		
210	92v	Un soupir amoureusement	3^1	Rr	—		
211	93	Amours, venés mon cuer reconforter	2^1	R	—		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
212	93	Mes yeux m'ont pourchachié la mort	2^1	Rr			
213	93v	Qui ne veroit que vos doulx yeulx	3^1	R	R. Loqueville		
214	93v	Puis que je suy amoureux	3^1	R	R. Loqueville		
215	94	Je ris, je chante, je m'esbas	3^1	R	Johannes Cesaris		
216	94	Pour l'amour de mon bel amy	3^1	V	Gran Guielmo		
217	94v	Revien a moy, revien, douce plaisance	3^1	R	—		
218	95	Puis que je voy que ma joye	2^1	R	—		
219	95	Pour vous tenir en la grace amoureuse Mon doulx amy, tenés vous tout temps gay	4^1+1	R	P. Fontaine	*Parma* 4 (an.) (3 voc.) — (Ct by M(atheus) d(e) Per(usio))	Edn. Marix, no. 8.
220	95v	Triste, dolent, plain de pensée	3^1	R	—		
221	95v	Par un regart et un ris amoureux	2^1	R	—		
222	95v-96	Qui se tendroit de vous amer	3^1	Rr	—		
223	96	Belle que j'ain plus qu'autre creature	3^1	B	—		
224	96v	Ma seul amour et ma belle maistresse	2^2	Rr	Briquet	*BL* 214; *Pz* f. 16v (an.) (2^1 voc.)	Edn. Stainer, 82.
225	96v	Pour mesdisans ne pour leur faulx parler	3^1	R	R. Loqueville		
226	96v-97	Ma chiere mestresse et amye	3^1	V	Gran Guielmo		
227	97	Je ne vis pas, je ne fais que languir	3^2	R	R. Gallo — Triplum by Francus de Insula		Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 42.
228	97v	L'aultre jour juer m'aloye	3^3	B	F. de Insula	*BL* 72 (an.)	Edn. (part) MGG, I, 1125-1126; Dannemann, no. 41.
229	97v	Ce jour de l'an qui mant doit estrenier	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		
230	98	Mon cuer pleure, mais des yeux me faut rire	3^1	R	P. Fontaine	*PR* f. 116v-117; *Pz* f. 9v-10 (an.); *Str* 177 (an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 6.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
231	98	Las, que me demanderoye	3^1	R	F. Lebertoul		Edn. Dannemann, no. 26 & 27 (fragments).
232	98v	El non mi val pensar ne dir oymey	2^2	itB	P. Rosso		
233	99	Et c'est assés pour m'esjouir	2^2	R	Jacobus Vide	*BL* 228	Edn. (part) BesM, 191; (complete) Marix, no. 12. Both voices on one stave.
234	99	Il me convient guerpir ceste contrée	2^2	V	—		
235	99v	O stella chi a respiender	3^1	itB	P. Russo		
236	100	Laissiés ester vostres chans de liesse	3^1	B	Gillet Velut		Facs. BesB, pl. IV, opp. 128.
237	100v	Nuda non era preso altro vestito	2^2	itB	M. Antonius Zachara		
238	100v	De bien amer quant l'ay enpris	3^1	R	P. Fontaine	*BL* 77; *PC* f. 60v (C only)	Edn. Wolf II/III, no. 33. Edn. (part): Dannemann, no. 30.
		Fascicle 7					
239	101	Jusqu'au jour d'uy pour aprendre a parler	3^1	B	Gillet Velut		
240	101v-102	Et in terra *Tro* Spiritus et alme	2^2+3^2	O	M. Johannes Ciconia		Alternation of *dui* and *chorus*. Edn. PS, 82.
241	102v-103	Benedicta viscera Ave Mater gratie T: Ora pro nobis, Deum. Alleluya.	4^1+1	isMo	Akany — Gilet Velut		*Tenor ad longum*. Edn. PS, 217.
242	103v-104	Et in terra	3^1	O	M. Johannes Ciconia	*BL* 149; *Kras* f. 192v; *StP* f. 25	Edn. HAM, no. 55; PS, 88.
243	104	Belle, plaissant plus que nulle autre née Puis que je sui de vous tres fort amée	3^1+1	R	Gautier (Liberth)		
244	104v-105	Et in terra	2^2+3^3	O	Le Grant Guillaume	*Ao* 59; *BL* 50; *Tr* 1429	Edn. PS, 123.
245	105v-107	Patrem	2^2+3^3	O	Le Grant Guillaume	*BL* 51	Dated 1426. Edn. HAM, no. 56; PS, 127.
246	107v	De tous les biens dont Nature est ouvriere	3^1	B	—		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
247	108	Il n'est dangier que de vilain	3^1	B	—		
248	108v	Pour le deffault du noble dieu Bachus	3^1	B	Baude Cordier		
249	108v-109	J'aim. Qui? Vous. Moy?	3^1	B	Paullet		Edn. (part.): Danneman, no. 31.
250	109	Je suy assés plus esbahis	3^1	R	—		
251	109	Se fortune s'est tournée	2^1	R	—		
252	109v	Se mes deux yeux peussent a vous parler	3^1	B	Hasprois		Edn. Dannemann, no. II.
253	109v-110	A l'aventure va Gauvain	3^1	R	Johannes Cesaris		Edn. Dannemann, no. 28 & 32 (fragments).
254	110	Se par plour ou par deuil mener	3^1+1	R	Johannes Cesaris		Edn. Dannemann, no. IV.
255	110v	Je suy celuy qui veul toudis servir	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		
256	110v	Que vaut avoir qui ne vit liement	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		
257	111	Tant ay de plaisir et de desplaisance	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		
258	111	Mon tres doux cuer, mon souverain desir	2^1	R	—		
259	111	Plus loing de joye que de dueil	2^1	R	—		
260	111v-112	Or avant, gentils fillettes	3^3	V	Le Grant Guillem		
261	111v	Faisons bonne chiere et lie	2^1	R	—		
262	112	Je suy si las venus pour tant atendre	3^2	V	Fr(ater) Antonius de civitate Austrie		„Triplum fit quatuor temporibus dimissis."
263	112v	La doulce flour qui de moy honnourée	3^1	V	—		
		Fascicle 8					
264	113	Patrem	2^2	O	Chierisy		Edn. PS, 75.
265	113v	Regardés de cuer piteux	3^2	Rr	—		Edn. Dannemann, no. 40 (fragm.).
266	114	Se j'ay perdu toute ma part	3^1	R	—		
267	114v-115	Salve virgo virginum Vita, via, veritas T: Salve regina	4^1+1	isMo	Billart		Edn. PS, 159.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
268	114v-115	Pour deleissier tristresse et joye avoir	3^2	R	—		Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 39.
269	115v	Confort d'amours humblement	4^2	R	—		Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 2.
270	115v	Esperance mi fait vivre en doulour	2^2	R	—		
271	116	Dame excellent ou sont bonté, scavoir	4^2	B	M. Baude Cordier		Edn. Dannemann, no. 37 & 38 (fragments).
272	116v-117	A virtutis ignitio Ergo beata nascio T: Benedicta filia tua a domino	4^1+1	isMo	Cesaris		Edn. PS, 174; (part) BesM, 98.
273	116v-117	Medée fu en amer veritable	3^1	B	—	*Ch* 26; *FP* f. 105v-106	
274	117v-118	Clarus ortus, clarior opere Gloriosa mater ecclesia T: Justus non conturbabitur quia Dominus firma manum eius	4^1+1	isMo	—		*T ad longum.* St. George. Edn. PS, 150.
275	118v-119	Strenua quem duxit Gaudeat et tanti	4^1+1	isMo	Frater Antonius de Civitato ordinis predicatorum		Marriage of Georgio Ordelaffi. *1423, zugno di* 8. Edn. PS, 188.
276	118v-119	Belle, vueilliés vostre mercy donner	3^2	R	G. du[illegible]y	*PC* f. 43 (an.) (T and Ct only)	Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 46.
277	119v-120	Ut te per omnes celitum Ingens alumpnus Padue	4^1+1	isMo	M. Johannes Ciconia de Leodio	*BL* 259 (3 voc.)	Francesco Zabarella. Edn. PS, 180.
278	119v-120	Amours n'ont cure de tristresse	3^1	R	Francus de Insula		
279	120v-121	Prophetarum fulti suffragio Ave virtus virtutum caritas T: Infelix, propera	4^1+1	isMo	Nicolaus Grenon		T has text. Edn. PS, 194.
280	121v	De tristresse, de dueil, de desplaysance	3^1	R	Gaultier (Liberth)		*1423.*
281	121v	Savés pour quoy suy sy gay?	3^1	R	Raulin de Vaux		
282	121v-122	Pastourelle en un vergier	3^3	B	P. Fontaine		Edn. Marix, ...
283	122	Pour une fois et pour toute ma vye	3^1	R	Cardot		Edn. Stainer, 85.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
284	122	Mon seul voloir, ma souverayne joye Certes m'amour c'est ma vye et ma joye	3^1+1	R	Cesaris		Edn. Stainer, 96; OxH II, 173-175. 1st text *Pz* f. 3 (an.)
285	122v	Depuis un peu un joyeux parlement	3^1	B	F(ranchois) Lebertoul		Edn. (opening): Dannemann, no. 11.
286	122v	Toute biaulté et toute honneur	3^1	Rr	—		
287	123	Ma doulce amour, je me doy bien complaindre	3^1	B	(Jo. Simonis de Haspre)	*Ch* 46; *Mod* 51 (an.)	Edn. Dannemann, no. I.
288	123	Amans, amés secretement	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		Facs. ApelN, 175. Edn. (part) Dannemann, no. 33; (complete) HAM, no. 48a.
289	123v	Quant de la belle me parti	3^1	R	A. Malbeke		
290	123v	Ma doulce amour et tout mon vray desir	3^1	R	—		
291	124	Quant la doulce jouvencelle	3^1	R	—		
292	124	Tant plus vous voy, tant plus me samblés belle	3^2	R	—		
293	124	En cest moys de may gracieux	4^2	R	—		„Fuga duorum temporum."
294	124v	Je vueil vivre au plaisir d'amours	3^1	R	—		
295	124v	Pour ce que je ne puis veir	2^2	R	—		
296	124v	Humble pitié, plaisant et de bon ayre	5^1	R	—		
297	125	Espris d'amours l'autre jour me trouvay	3^3	R	—		
298	125v	Tant plus ayme, tant plus suy mal amé	3^1	R	Binchois		Edn. Gurlitt, no. 13.
299	125v	Gia per gran nobelta, trihumpho e fama	2^2	itB	N. Zacharie		Pope Martin V, 1417-1431.
300	126	J'ay mis mon cuer et ma pensée	3^3	B	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Edn. Stainer, 155.
301	126v	Resveilliés vous et faites chiere lye	3^1	B	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Marriage of Carlo Malatesta and Vittoria Colonna, 1423. Edn. Dannemann, no. 10 (fragment); Pirro, 59 f.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fascicle 9					
302	127	Biancha nel bruno aquilino aspecto	3^1	itB	—		
303	127v-128	Ad honorem sancte Trinitatis Celorum regnum sempiternum	4^1+1	isMo	Nicholaus Grenon	*BL* 209	All Saints. Edn. PS, 203.
304	128v-129	Invidia nimicha de zascum virtuoso	4^1	itB	Guillermus Dufay	*FP* f. 17v-18 (3 voc.) (an.); *BU* 75	
305	128v-129	Prevalet simplicitas	3^2	Mo	Ar. de Ructis	*BL* 261 (2 voc.)	Edn. PS, 278.
306	129v-130	Celsa sublimatur victoria Sabine presul dignissime	4^1+1	isMo	Hugo de [illegible]ntins		Solus T. St. Nicholas. Edn. PS, 215.
307	129v-130	Se ne prenés de moy pité	3^2	R	Arnoldus de [illegible]ntins	O 64; *PC* f. 54v-55 (an.)	*1428*. Edn. BorrenL, no. 11.
308	130v-131	O gemma, lux et speculum Sacer pastor Barensium T: Beatus Nicolaus	4^1+1	isMo	G. du[illegible]y	*BL* 263	St. Nicholas. Edn. VanD II, 36.
309	131v-132	Fortis cum quevis actio	4^2	Mo	Johannes (Brassart) de Ludo	*Tr* 50	St. John the Evangelist. Edn. DTO VII, 97.
310	132v-133	Vasilissa, ergo gaude T: Concupivit rex	4^2	isMo	Guillermus Dufay	*BL* 244; *Tr* 37	Marriage of Cleophe Malatesta, 1421. Edn. DTO 53, 30; VanD II, 1.
311	132v-133	Quant je mire vos doulce portraiture	3^1	Rr	Arnoldus de Lantins	*PC* f. 55v-56 (an.)	*1428 mensis martii Venetiis*. Edn. BorrenL, no. 12.
312	133v-134	Vergene bella che di sol vestita	3^1	LaMo	Guillermus Dufay	*BL* 201; *BU* 52	Facs. of BU with BL variants Lisio; Edn. BesD, no. 2; BorrenD, 305; (part) Scelta, no. 42.
313	134	Passato e il tempo omai	3^1	itB	G. Dufay		
314		Mon chier amy, qu'avés vous empensé	3^2	B	Guillermus du[illegible]y		Edn. HAM, no. 67 (3^1 voc.).
	134v	*Fascicle 10*					
315	135	Vince con lena çascun aspro orgoglio	3^1	itB	Domini Bartholomei de Bononia prioris		Facs. ApelN, 143; Stainer, pl. VIII. Edn. Stainer, 60.
316	135	O dolçe conpagno, se tu voy cantare	3^2	itB	Dominicus de Feraria		Cancrizans canon. Facs. ApelN, 143; Stainer, pl. VIII. Edn. Stainer, 160 (erroneous).

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
317	135v-136	Et in terra	3^1	O	Idem Bartholomaeus de Bononia prior		Edn. PS, 37.
318	135v-136	Pour l'amour de ma doulce amye	3^3	R	G. du[illegible]y	*Em* 253 (4 voc.) (cft.)	Edn. Stainer, 157.
319	136v-138	Patrem	2^2+3^1	O	Idem Bartholomaeus de Bononia prior		Edn. PS, 44.
320	137v-138	Morir desio poche fortuna	3^2	itB	Idem Bartholomaeus de Bononia prior		
321	138v-139	Venite adoremus Dominum Salve sancta eterna Trinitas T:Venite adoremus alleluya	4^1+1	isMo	(Carmen)	*BL* 217 & 327	Edn. PS, 167.
322	139v-140	Eya, dulcis adque vernans rosa Vale, placens peroratrix	4^1+1	isMo	Jo Tap(i)ssier		Edn. Stainer, 187.
323	139v	Ma belle dame, je vous pri	3^2	R	G. du[illegible]y		
324	140	Adieu, ces bons vins de Lannoys	3^1	R	G. du[illegible]y		*1426*. Edn. Pirro, 62.
325	140v	Ma belle dame souverainne	4^3	R	Guilermus du[illegible]y		Edn. BesB, Appendix, no. 2.
326	140v	Si me fault faire departie	3^1	R	Passet de Tornaco		

Editions of Texts:

E. Droz and A. Piaget, *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, Paris, 1924: nos. 245 = O 47, 320 = O 152, 329 = O 10, 368 = O 57, 460 = O 247, 621 (V) = O 120.
M. Loepelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, Göttingen, 1923: nos. 35 = O 247, 60 = O 120, 154 = O 163, 585 = O 177.
Further editiens of O 120 & 247 cited in Droz and Piaget, *loc. cit.*

Reading University

PROCESSIONAL PSALMS IN FABURDEN

DENIS STEVENS

It happens not infrequently in the course of a research project that an unsuccessful quest for a particular item of information brings about, by sheer accident, a discovery which is of more interest and ultimate value than the subject of the original quest. Thus, during a recent search for a certain processional antiphon belonging to the Sarum rite, I had occasion to study a manuscript Sarum processional of the fifteenth century, now preserved among the splendid collection of liturgical books in the British Museum [1].

On turning to the section concerned with the processional psalms sung at Vespers on Easter Day, I was surprised to see that certain of the plainsong verses had been carefully erased, and supplanted by a single voice-part in mensural notation. The *f* clef and the four-lined plainsong stave remained unaltered, although it was clear that the scribe responsible for the palimpsest had some difficulty in finding enough space for the new notation. The short melisma for the Alleluia overflows (see Illustration 1) into the margin, while f. 65 v (Illustration 2) shows this same melisma supplanting the plainsong note which should appear above the words *Quis* and *Ut*. On f. 66 there is another marginal overflow, and an *ut supra* indication for the Alleluia after the *Sicut erat*. The scribe used white mensural notation, which includes occasional ligatures bearing a subscript *2*, indicating that the second note of an ascending ligature *cum opposita proprietate* was to be read (by alteration) as a breve rather than as a semibreve. Arabic numerals with similar implications were in use during the last decade of the fifteenth century, and until the time of the Reformation [2].

Two features of the palimpsest are of immediate interest: first, the liturgical framework and background of the verses so treated, and second,

[1] Harley Ms. 2945. Part of the Harleian Collection of Mss. originally owned by Robert (1661-1724) and Edward Harley (1689-1741), 1st and 2nd Earls of Oxford. Purchased from the Countess of Oxford and the Duchess of Portland in 1753. A catalogue of the collection, in four volumes, was published between 1808 and 1812.

[2] See, for example, the two facsimiles of the Eton Ms. in *Annales Musicologiques* [1953] I, pl. IV, V. Numerical aids are also to be found in early Tudor part-books, such as the Forrest-Heather books in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Mus. Sch. e 376-381).

the meaning and function of the single mensural voice-part. In both the psalms, *Laudate pueri* and *In exitu Israel,* alternate verses (the even-numbered ones to be exact) have been modified by the erasure of the original plainsong and the substitution of mensural notation. The odd-numbered verses remain in their pristine state. It is therefore clear that some exceptional kind of contrast was being sought after, in order to heighten an alternatim performance whose musico-liturgical effect was already well known. In fact, the procession to the fonts at Vespers on Easter Sunday was a ceremony of great antiquity, and it is mentioned (though without directions regarding alternatim performance) in the *Regularis Concordia* [3]. Moreover, although the ceremony is first and foremost a procession, and the fullest rubrics are generally to be found in Processionals, its liturgical importance is emphasized by its frequent appearance in Antiphoners and noted Missals. It is found in conveniently shortened form in the facsimile edition of *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* [4], at plate 239, the rubric being almost identical with that in two of the Sarum Missals collated by Dr Wickham Legg [5]. A much fuller version may be seen in the Sarum Breviary of 1531 [6], although the amplifications of this source do not affect the method of performance in any way.

The procession to the fonts, although celebrated in its most complete and elaborate form on Easter Sunday, was repeated with minor alterations on every day in Easter Week. At Salisbury, the fonts were reached via the south door of the Presbytery, but the procession (with Cross, Cerofers, and Thuribler, two Deacons in albs bearing the Oil and Chrism, a Boy bearing a Missal, then the Officiator and four Rulers of the Choir) did not set out until the Rulers had begun the first psalm, *Laudate pueri.* This psalm, together with *In exitu Israel* which was sung during the returning procession, was a normal part of Vespers; but in Easter Week it was made jubilant by the addition of an Alleluia at the end of every verse [7]. The procession set out as the second verse was sung by the other part of the choir, and so the complete psalm was sung, in alternation, until the procession reached the fonts. Three boys in surplices, turning to the Altar, then began the Alleluia, with its two verses *Laudate pueri* and *Sit nomen*

[3] "Dehinc eatur ad fontes, psalmum *Laudate pueri* cum antiphona canentes quem sequatur collecta". *Reg. Conc. 90.*

[4] Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London [1901-1925].

[5] *The Sarum Missal,* Oxford, [1916] p. 137. The third Missal, Ms. 135 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal in Paris, omits the passage in question.

[6] Edited by Procter and Wordsworth, Cambridge, [1879-1886] I, dcccxix.

[7] A common rubric in Antiphoners and Consuetudinaries tells us that all invitatories, antiphons, responsories, introits, offertories and communions (except for the dead) should end with Alleluia, up to the Feast of the Holy Trinity.

Domini [8], the choir joining in at the appointed and customary places. After the censing of the fonts came the verse *Surrexit Dominus,* a short prayer, and then the return to the Choir, with the psalm *In exitu Israel* sung alternatim and with Alleluia at the end of every verse. Following this was the verse *Dicite in nationibus,* during which the Cerofers and the Boy bearing the Missal came forward to the Officiator, returning to their places after he had said the collect. As the procession re-entered the Choir, a verse, response, and orison of St Mary were said.

The rubric regarding alternatim performance of the psalms is clearly set out in Harley Ms. 2945, after the first Alleluia with its threefold response has been sung:

> Qua finita rectores chori ex parte chori incipiant hunc psalmum et percanteteur ab illis ex parte chori hoc modo. *Laudate pueri Dominum laudate nomen Domini alleluia.* Deinde dicatur alius versus ex alia parte chori hoc modo. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum alleluia.* Et sic totus psalmus cum *Gloria Patri* et *Sicut erat.*

A setting of these same psalms, in four-part polyphony, appears in a collection of part-books written in England during the mid-sixteenth century [9]. This setting was almost certainly intended for the Vespers procession, since the psalms begin with the second verse, continuing thereafter with the even-numbered verses only. The polyphonic verses for *Laudate pueri* are by John Shepherd, who also wrote the first section of the longer psalm *In exitu Israel* [10]. Shepherd apparently enlisted the aid of two of his colleagues; for the second part of the psalm, beginning at the verse *Similes illis fiant* is by Byrd [11], and the third and last part, *Benedixit omnibus qui timent,* by Munday (presumably William Munday, "th'oulde one of the queenes pallis" as Baldwin described him) [12]. The liturgical connection of

[8] This is the same Alleluia as that sung at Mass on the Sunday after Easter (*Graduale Sarisburiense,* pl. 123; Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London [1894]).

[9] British Museum, Add. Mss. 17802-5, nos. 42-45. See Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum,* London, [1906] I, 272.

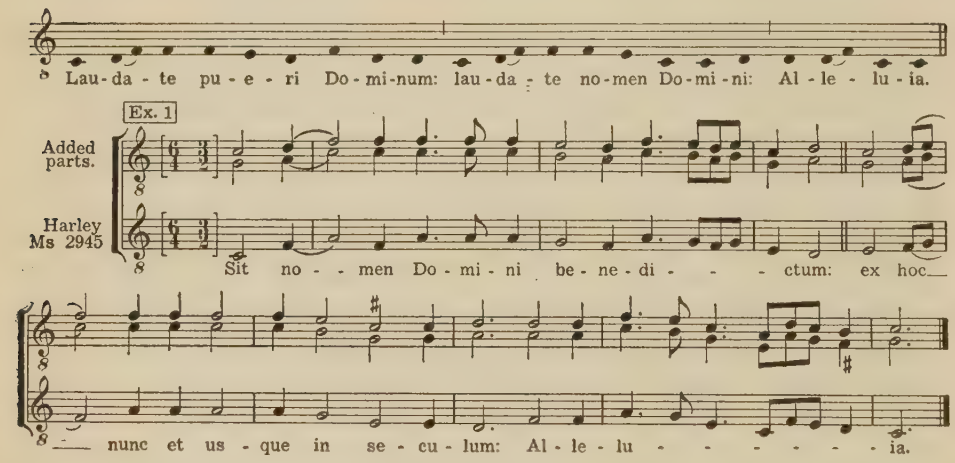
[10] Listed under *Facta est Judea* in Hughes-Hughes, *op. cit.*

[11] No initial or Christian name is given in the mss., whose contents is mostly made up of pre-Reformation or Marian compositions, the sequence of items often betraying a definite liturgical purpose. It seems that Thomas (rather than William) Byrd was the composer of *Similes illis fiant,* for he was a contemporary of Shepherd in the Chapel Royal in the time of Edward VI and Queen Mary. William Munday was sworn a member in 1563/4, and so made up the triumvirate of composers responsible for these psalms. Although Fellowes assumes (*William Byrd,* 2nd ed., London [1948] p. 107) that William Byrd was the composer, it is worth pointing out that he did not leave Lincoln until 1573.

[12] British Museum, RM 24 d. 2, f. 189v.

the psalms with Easter Day is confirmed by the previous item in the part-books, a setting of the gradual *Haec Dies* by Ensdale.

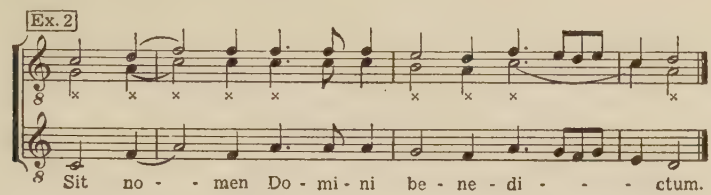
The second main feature of Harley Ms. 2945 is the meaning and function of the mensural voice-part. This could, of course, be considered as one voice of a polyphonic setting similar to the one discussed above in Add. Mss. 17802-5. In view, however, of the consistent manner in which the upward leap of a fourth occurs at the beginning of every verse, a fauxbourdon setting would appear to be a more likely interpretation. This interval of a fourth suggests immediately a fauxbourdon harmonization of the first two notes of the psalm tone, giving a typical $\frac{8}{5}$ $\frac{6}{3}$ progression which remains the same throughout the even-numbered verses. When the psalm tone is transposed to the higher octave (as was customary in order to obtain the correct tessitura) and slightly decorated (also customary, according to the leading authorities and sources [13]) the result is a plausible framework for a fauxbourdon psalm.



It will be noticed that a strict adherence to the middle and final cadences of the verse is impossible harmonically, since the falling third (F-D) of the former and the rising second of the latter cadence do not fit the implied harmony of the given part. Some measure of decoration at cadence-points is expected of this music, as indeed of any other music that is self-respecting if not self-explanatory; and the solution offered, while not being entirely without fault, is at least simple and practicable. By treating

[13] In connection with the hymn *Ut queant laxis,* by Binchois, Bukofzer points out that the treble, when added to the existing tenor and contratenor parts, "presents the ornamented plainsong in its original mode transposed to the higher octave." (*Fauxbourdon Revisited,* in *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXVIII [1952] p. 34.

the middle part with rather more freedom, it is possible to arrive at an almost exact version of the original cantus firmus, but of course at a fifth above its normal pitch:



This hybrid would, however, be neither flesh, fish, nor fowl; neither bourdon, fauxbourdon, nor English discant. Internal, as well as liturgical characteristics, demonstrate that these psalms are fauxbourdon pieces, although the word „fauxbourdon" is nowhere written in the Processional under discussion. It may, nevertheless, have appeared in the companion volume, now possibly lost — the volume which contained the decorated psalm tone, in mensural notation similar to that in Harley Ms. 2945. The fact that the scribe took such trouble to write it down at all, and to insert it with such care between the plainsong verses, indicates that fauxbourdon technique was known and practised [14]. Even in its strictest and most „mechanical" form it is still eminently suited to processions, during which the performance of even slightly complex music would pose awkward problems of ensemble; and one may be quite certain that a practical-minded Precentor would insist on functional rather than florid polyphony at times like these. Slavishly strict fauxbourdon compositions abound in the continental as well as the English repertory, and they undoubtedly proved useful in fifteenth century ceremonial. Besseler mentions no less than four „mechanical" fauxbourdon compositions by Binchois [15], one of which is in fact a setting of the psalm *In exitu Israel.* This is a through-composed setting of the entire psalm [16], and the absence of alternatim technique precludes its use at the Vespers procession on Easter Day, since the rubrics agree completely on this essential method of performance.

[14] Reese, stressing the differences between English discant and fauxbourdon, affirms that "... whereas English discant began as an improvisation technique, the results of which were later applied to written composition, fauxbourdon — so far as we know about it from the actual sources — was always a form of written composition". (*Music in the Renaissance,* New York [1954] p. 64).

[15] "... eine fast mechanische Verwendung der Fauxbourdontechnik im freien Satz, beobachtet man in einigen Kompositionen von Binchois". (*Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig [1950] p. 162).

[16] See the edition by Marix in *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne,* Paris [1937] p. 196.

Binchois' setting was probably intended for Vespers out of Paschal time.

In a interesting and informative analysis of the liturgical forms represented in Besseler's list [17], Bukofzer has pointed out that about 70% of the items are psalmodic forms such as the Te Deum, Magnificat, and Psalms proper. "Later in the century the proportion runs even more in favor of psalmodic compositions and this explains why the technique became eventually almost synonymous with psalmody in the *falso bordone*" [18]. In the same study Bukofzer draws attention to some late fifteenth century faburden settings of the Litany, preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, London [19]. These can be reconstructed in exactly the same way as the fauxbourdon psalms in Harley Ms. 2945, and (like the psalms) they were intended to be sung in procession. There is even a mention of a procession, with the litany sung in faburden, in an early sixteenth century London chronicle [20]:

> ".... came ye blake fryars w^{t} theyr crosse & every fryar a cope, syngynge ye letany w^{t} faburden .... after them cam Powles quere, every priste & clerke had a cope w^{t} all theyr residentaris in copes, syngynge ye litany w^{t} faburden."

No such description of an Easter procession "with psalms in faburden" has yet come to light; although the example we have discussed throws light not only upon the special uses to which the technique was put, but also upon the strong desire for colour and contrast in alternatim performances that caused the technique to be thoroughly assimilated and effectively employed.

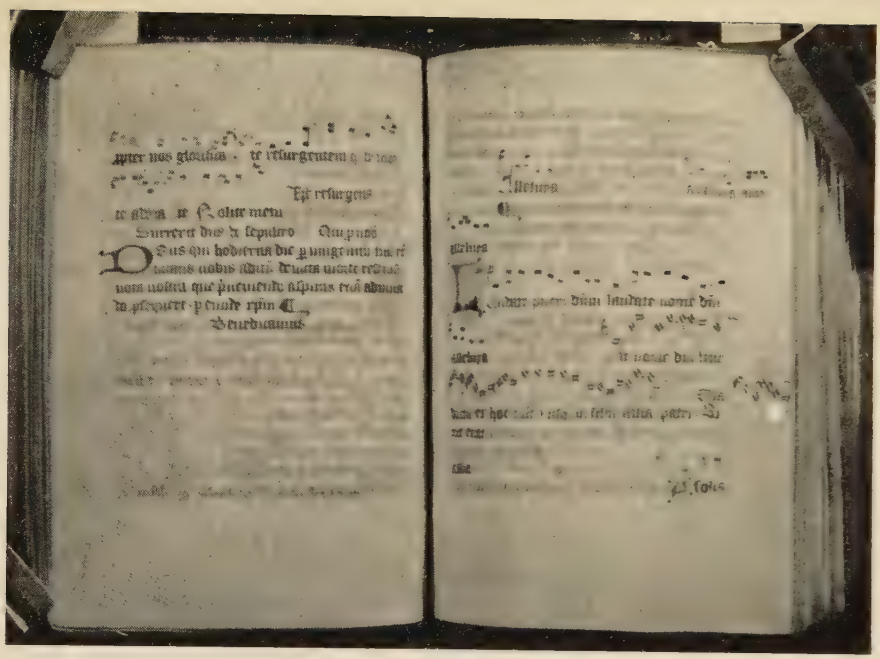
London

[17] Besseler, *op. cit.* p. 4. "Fauxbourdon compositions in the main sources of the time of Dufay".

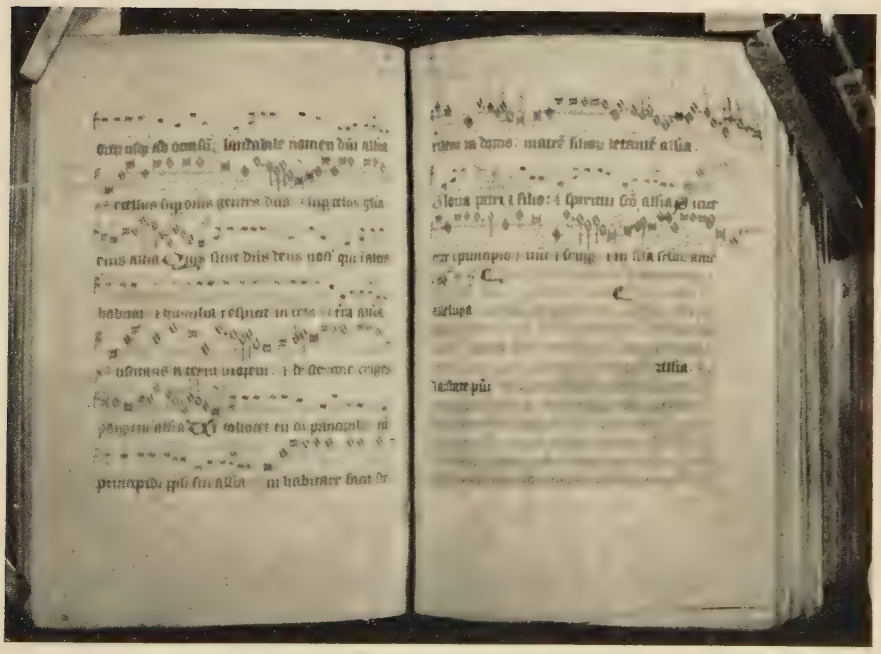
[18] Bukofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[19] Ms. 438, f. 180 v.

[20] British Museum, Harley Ms. 540, ff. 7-21.



BRITISH MUSEUM, HARLEY MS 2945, *f* 64 v—65



BRITISH MUSEUM, HARLEY MS 2945, *f.* 65 v—66

UGOLINO OF ORVIETO, THEORIST AND COMPOSER [1]

ALBERT SEAY

Introduction

Although the name, Ugolino of Orvieto, has frequently appeared in various secondary sources of the last sixty years, the presentation of his *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* in the *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* marks the first publication of a critical edition of the total of Ugolino's extensive work. In the past, only small portions of the treatise have been available and these all based on readings from one manuscript, that now in the Casanatense at Rome.

Our edition is founded on readings taken from five manuscripts, all of Italian origin and from the fifteenth century:

1. London, British Museum, add. 33519 (*L*)
2. Oxford, Bodleian, Canonici Misc. 42 (*O*)
3. Rome, Casanatense, ms. 2151 (R_1)
4. Rome, Vatican, Rossiano 455 (R_2)
5. Rome, Vatican, lat. 5324 (R_3)

A sixth manuscript, Florence, Magliabecchiana XIX, 36 (*F*), contains a version of Book I of the *Declaratio,* but lies completely outside the text tradition. Careful examination of this manuscript's readings indicates that a rewriting and revision of the entire contents has taken place. Two other manuscripts, at Bologna and at Bressanone, have been omitted from consideration since both were copied from the Florentine codex [2].

The *Declaratio* in its complete form is divided into five books plus an appended treatise on the monochord, each book being introduced by a *proemium,* which treats of philosophical matters as related to music. Book I is an extended survey of the principles of monophonic music, beginning with a discussion of the notes within the hand, intervals and the modes. It

[1] Editor's note: The publication of the treatise by Ugolino, as CMM 6, will begin in 1956.

[2] See F. X. Haberl, "Bio-bibliographische Notizen über Ugolino von Orvieto", in *KMJ,* X (1895), p. 48, and Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Bologna, 1890), Vol. I, p. 262.

closes with a *tonarius* and clarifications of various classification problems encountered therein. Book II turns to a discussion of polyphonic music, i.e., of counterpoint, considered as the simple combination of note against note in two voices. Book III is a voluminous commentary on the *De musica mensurata* of the French fourteenth century theorist, Jean de Muris. Book IV discusses proportions and their relations to practical music, while Book V is given over to speculative matters, the essence and true subject of music as well as the mathematical relationships that are part and parcel of both music and philosophy. The concluding treatise on the monochord describes how the many numerical proportions already mentioned can be shown in terms of tone. Two methods of determining pitch levels for *musica ficta* are described in some detail, with appropriate charts and diagrams.

While Ugolino and his treatise were well known during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to judge from the evidence of contemporary sources, no writer of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries mentions him or the *Declaratio*. Although Padre G. B. Martini, the celebrated composer, teacher and historian, went so far as to have the Florentine version of Book I transcribed for him in 1766 by a certain Lorenzo Mehus [3], his *Storia della musica,* where a reference to Ugolino would have been expected, remained a torso in its three volumes. Since the final volume is devoted to a study of Greek music, Martini never arrived at a point where the results of any research on Ugolino would logically have had a place.

Martini seems to have been the only historian of the late eighteenth century to have taken cognizance of the existence of the work of Ugolino. While it is entirely possible that both Gerbert and Burney may have come into contact with the *Declaratio* in the course of their travels about the continent while collecting material, they do not include the name of either the author or the work in their publications. No copy of the treatise was in an English library at the time, so it is understandable why John Hawkins also has no mention of Ugolino.

The first scholar to pay any attention to Ugolino after Martini was Giuseppe Baini, who became the owner of the copy now in the Casanatense at Rome. He mentions Ugolino twice in the course of his study on Palestrina [4], but it is evident that he had no further sources of information than those inherent in the manuscript itself. Even here his deductions were incorrect, for he included Ugolino as one of the theorists of the early fourteenth century and, misunderstanding the word "canon", considered the compositions at the close of the manuscript as three-voice works rather

[3] Gaspari, *loc. cit.*

[4] Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e della opere di G. P. da Palestrina* (Rome, 1827-28), Vol. II, pp. 393 and 397n.

than two. Baini presented none of the text nor did he attempt to summarize the contents.

From this same manuscript, which had passed into the possession of the Casanatense library at the death of Baini in 1844, Adrien de la Fage drew the materials for his discussion of Ugolino, the first to do more than merely mention the work and the author. His *Essais de Diphthérographie Musicale,* published in 1864, contain some fifty pages devoted to a description of this manuscript and excerpts from the text itself [5]. La Fage, however, was interested almost exclusively in the problems of practical music and therefore chose his excerpts on this basis. No attention was given to any of the speculative sections of the treatise, with no mention of the contents of the various *proemia* and Books IV and V. It is obvious that La Fage had no real comprehension of the plan or spirit of the *Declaratio,* for he summarizes his position in the revealing statement that:

> "...il faudra reconnaître que, malgré son étendue, il ne renferme pas autant de choses curieuses qu'on aurait droit de l'espérer. On s'aperçoit que l'archiprêtre de Ferrare était un homme fort laborieux, fort appliqué à se bien rendre compte de ce qu'il étudiait, et qu'il s'efforçait ensuite de faire passer dans ses écrits l'idée plus ou moins exacte qu'il se faisait des choses. Malheureusement il lui manque pour y réussir l'habitude de l'ordre logique et le talent d'écrire. Il se répète sans cesse, sa latinité est détestable, ses longueurs, sa monotonie accableraient d'ennui quiconque aurait comme moi le courage de le lire en entier..." [6]

With all his faults of interpretation and omission, La Fage must be commended for taking the trouble to transcribe large enough sections of the treatise to give scholars some idea of its contents. It is these sections, fragmentary as they are, that have formed the basis of practically all quotations and references up to the present day. Since La Fage felt Ugolino's compositions were incorrectly written, he offered no transcriptions.

His great contemporary, Edmond de Coussemaker, had no knowledge of Ugolino's treatise until the work of La Fage appeared, since in 1852 he failed to recognize a treatise that he had uncovered in the Vatican library. Known today as one of the five major sources for the *Declaratio,* it was described by Coussemaker as:

> "Anonyme — 'Liber declarationis musicae disciplinae' Bibliothèque du Vatican, n° 5324. Ce manuscrit contient un des traités le plus intéressants sur le contre-point au XIVe siécle." [7]

[5] Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de Diphthérographie Musicale* (Paris, 1864), pp. 116-166.

[6] *Ibid., p. 165.*

[7] Edmond de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1852), p. 219.

La Fage's research, however, did not remain unnoticed, for the preface to the third volume of Coussemaker's *Scriptores,* first published in 1869, mentions the third book of the *Declaratio* as one of the many commentaries upon Jean de Muris, with proper credit to La Fage in the accompanying foot-note [8]. Coussemaker must also have personally encountered the Florentine version of Book I of the *Declaratio,* since he mentions other treatises found in this codex, but has no reference to it [9]. Possibly because of La Fage's prejudices and opinions Coussemaker felt it unnecessary to go deeper into the matter [10].

Although it appeared in 1868, only four years later than La Fage's synopsis of the *Declaratio,* the third volume of the *Geschichte der Musik* of August Wilhelm Ambros gives a more thoroughly reasoned approach to the whole question of Ugolino's importance as a theorist [11]. Instead of isolating the work completely from its surroundings, Ambros made a conscious effort to consider the treatise in the light of its historical position. He too based his conclusions upon the Casanatense manuscript, but did not slight the importance of the philosophical elements contained in the treatise.

With such an approach it is quite easy to understand why Ambros regards Ugolino as a highly important theorist, considering him as a "höchst bedeutenden Vorgänger" of Tinctoris [12] and as "der geklärte, höhere Geistesverwandte des Marchettus von Padua" [13]. To Ambros, Ugolino was not merely a teacher but also a philosopher and a thinker, i.e., one of the last great representatives of scholasticism and its casuistical methods of solving problems. In his foot-notes Ambros gives numerous textual quotations to establish his contentions thoroughly and notes quite carefully the full significance of Ugolino's use of the commentary as a formal device, stating that: "Die Form . . . mahnt ganz unmittelbar an ein scholastisches Vorbild, den Commentar des Albertus Magnus zum Aristoteles" [14].

Ambros' researches thus established the general position Ugolino was to occupy in all subsequent music histories. Certainly no fault can be found in his overall estimate of the importance of Ugolino as a theorist. But Ambros did little toward clearing up certain specific problems of content,

[8] *CS,* III, p. xviii, n. 8.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. xxxii.

[10] Coussemaker seems to have been the only French musicologist of the period to have noted the efforts of La Fage, for Fétis made no move to revise his article on Ugolino in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens,* VIII, p. 281, in the various re-editions of the work.

[11] A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik,* 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1904), Vol. III.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 147.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 148.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 149-150.

nor did he unearth much new biographical information. While many excerpts were given in his foot-notes, there are still far too few to permit any full concept of the treatise.

With Ambros' estimate of Ugolino's position arousing new interest in our fifteenth century theorist, as early as 1868, only three months after the publication of Ambros' third volume, Franz Xavier Haberl made a trip to Ferrara, but found nothing at that time to add to what little was already known. In 1895 he published the results of his continued biographical and bibliographical researches, together with a survey of the manuscript's contents prepared by Father Otto Kornmüller [15]. Although his research does show many gaps, his omissions are small in view of the vast amount of information that he managed to collect. The task of preparing a critical text would have been far more difficult without the benefit of this study, although it is some sixty years old.

Father Kornmüller's article is of much the same type as that of La Fage, but without the latter's critical nature [16]. The principal difference between the treatments of La Fage and Kornmüller lies in the handling of the text, for La Fage quoted from the original Latin, while Kornmüller translated and paraphrased into German, with only very short sections being left in the original language. Kornmüller made no real advances over the research which La Fage had already done, for the approach of both was primarily one of the practical musician.

Some additional excerpts from the Casanatense manuscript are found at the close of *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* by Gerhard Pietzsch, a study published in 1929 [17]. As the title of the book suggests, the excerpts included were those dealing with the philosophical views of Ugolino. Pietzsch's original plan had been to prepare a study simply of Ugolino, but this project has never seen the light of day [18].

In summary, the research on Ugolino of Orvieto in the past has been of great value in establishing his position as one of the important figures in this history of the theory of music. Any subsequent research, however, has had to be based on short excerpts and fragments that cannot give a clear

[15] Both articles are part of the *KMJ* of that year.

[16] Otto Kornmüller, "Musiklehre des Ugolino von Orvieto", in *KMJ*, X (1895), pp. 19-40.

[17] Gerhard Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* (Halle, 1929). This should be read with Schrade's review in *ZfMw*, XIII, pp. 570-577.

[18] Certain textual corrections are necessary for those sections quoted by Pietzsch. On p. 121, n. 2, line 1, *musica* should be read as *scientia*. On p. 123, n. 1, line 3, *connecteret* should be read as *connecteretur*. These are corrections of misreadings made in the transcribing of the Casanatense codex and are not corrections to make his text agree with the critically established one.

and complete picture of the work as a whole. Only with the publication of the *Declaratio* in its entirety can there be an opportunity to explore the details with any degree of surety.

Our study of the work of Ugolino, the *Declaratio musicae disciplinae,* will begin with a biographical sketch, since the material used by Haberl in his study has now gone badly out of date. A series of individual descriptions of the various manuscripts follows, concluded by a discussion of the interrelations of these codices. The third portion will survey the contents of the treatise proper, with particular attention to Ugolino's sources and his place in the history of music theory. The concluding section will take up Ugolino's achievements as a composer, through a study of his surviving compositions.

Ugolino's Life

Nothing is known about Ugolino's early life, the period prior to 1415, the year in which he is first mentioned as being in the religious establishment of Forlì [19]. Haberl's assumption that he was born in Forlì around 1380 and studied for the priesthood sometime between 1400 and 1420 seems generally well taken [20]. The next known mention of Ugolino in any primary source is that made by a contemporary chronicler, who states that on August 21, 1425, Ugolino assumed the position of archdeacon of the church of S. Croce at Forlì, being transferred to that place from the rectorship of S. Antonio di Rivaldini of the same city [21].

It is quite obvious that he could not have been a young man at the time. Not only was the previous place of rectorship an important one, but the newer position, that at S. Croce, was one that entailed the supervision of construction of several chapels to be added to that church; the ground was broken for the foundations of the first of these on June 10, 1426, and construction was continued during the whole of Ugolino's tenure [22].

Evidence of the esteem and trust he enjoyed at that time is seen in his designation as vicar by Giovanni Caffarelli, the then Bishop of Forlì, for the period June 6, 1427 to December 1 of the same year. His task was to serve as the bishop's representative during the latter's absence, for Caffarelli had been called to Rome [23].

[19] Taken from the *Archivio Capitolare,* Vol. 20, p. 30, and quoted by Adamo Pasini, "Traslazione dell'Immagine in Duomo", in *La Madonna del Fuoco,* IV (1918), p. 52.

[20] Haberl, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

[21] Gino Borghezio and Marco Vattasso, *Giovanni di M° Pedrino Depintore, Cronica del suo Tempo* (*Studi e Testi* 50) (Roma, 1929), pp. 140-141.

[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 153-154, 163, 222.

[23] The "Cronaca Albertina", quoted in *La Madonna del Fuoco,* III (1917), p. 64.

With the rise of political troubles and the accession of the Ghibelline faction in Forlì, Ugolino's position became very insecure, since he was known as a Guelf adherent [24]. With the help of his friend, Francesco da Ferrara (Francesco Salimbeni), he took refuge in Ferrara in 1430, but, according to the contemporary account, still seemed to have hopes of returning to his position in Forlì. At any rate, it is recorded that at the time of the election of a new bishop in 1432 Ugolino was one of three candidates for the position, being backed by Bishop Caffarelli, who had also fallen into disfavor in Forlì. His hopes were dashed, however, when Guillelmo da Forlì, a candidate of the Ghibellines and the powerful Ordelassi family, was finally chosen [25]. Nothing more of Ugolino is recorded in Forlì save that his position was declared vacant and a successor chosen in 1434 [26].

During this period of insecurity Ugolino seems to have attached himself to the cathedral in Ferrara; the travel-diary of a Benedictine monk records that in 1431 and 1433 he had encountered Ugolino in the cathedral at Ferrara. The characterization of Ugolino as "... modulandi peritissimus ..." in this diary shows that Ugolino's musical skills were highly appreciated [27].

His extra-musical ability as an administrator was also highly esteemed, for in 1437 he again was appointed vicar by his old friend, Giovanni Caffarelli, the former Bishop of Forlì, who, meanwhile, had been newly named as Bishop of Ancona-Umana. As Caffarelli had been asked by Pope Eugenius IV to attend the Council of Ferrara-Florence, a deputy had to serve for him. In view of the past connection of the two men, Caffarelli's delegation of authority to Ugolino seemed a natural choice [28].

On the basis of the eighteenth century researches of Padre Giacinto Sbaraglia for the information of Padre Martini, Gaspari has suggested that Ugolino was made Archpresbyter at the Cathedral of Ferrara in 1440 [29]. On the other hand, a letter to Haberl by Cittadella in 1868 says that such an appointment was made in 1430 [30]. In view of the efforts that Ugolino made in 1432 to reestablish himself in Forlì and the necessary absences from Ferrara occasioned by Ugolino's appointment as Bishop Caffarelli's vicar, it is rather doubtful that the earlier date can be taken as correct. If Ugolino had been an archpresbyter in 1430 it is logical to presume that the Benedictine monk quoted earlier would have mentioned it, but he does not.

[24] Borghezio and Vattasso, *op. cit.*, p. 452n.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[27] Haberl, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[29] Gaspari, *loc. cit.*
[30] Haberl. *op. cit.*, p. 47.

At any rate, it is certain that, regardless of the year he did assume such a position, he kept it until 1448, for in that year is recorded the name of his successor [31]. Ugolino was obviously well known as an archpresbyter, for both the London and Oxford manuscripts so designate him.

Gaspari also mentions a document of 1442, which calls him "Hugolinus de Urbeveteri I. V. Doctor, et Archipresbyter Ecclesiae Maioris" [32]. It cannot be determined if he received his degree in that year or earlier, although it is more probable that he took his university training before 1430, the date of his removal to Ferrara.

The exact date of his death is not known, but it must have occurred in or shortly after 1457, since a final codicil to his will is recorded in that year. Under the terms of this will he left his possession to the Cappella di S. Croce in the Cathedral of Ferrara, where he was also buried [33].

One question remains, that of the dating of the composition of the *Declaratio*. In Biondi's *Italia illustrata,* which is quoted by Haberl [34], it is stated that:

> "Quid quod Ugolinus cognomine urbevetanus forlivii genitus et nutritus omnis [*sic*] aetatis nostrae musicos sine contradictione superat, aeditusque ab eo de musica liber haud secus omnium qui ante se scripserunt labores obscurabit."

Haberl has rightly pointed out that Biondi's book, although published in 1531, was written in the lifetime of the author, who died in 1463. The passage quoted above was written before 1430. In view of the tense of "obscurabit", it is evident that Ugolino had not finished the *Declaratio* at that time, but at a later date. Since it is definite that he was in Ferrara after 1430, he must have completed the work there. It may well be that the *Declaratio* was not finished until after 1440, the presumed date of Ugolino's appointment as archpresbyter, for two of the manuscripts, as noted above, carry this designation. The date cannot be determined more exactly.

Although the circumstances of his departure from Forlì were not the most favorable, he was remembered there as one of the major figures of his time. As late as 1485 he was characterized by an anonymous chronicler as:

[31] Cittadella, quoted by Haberl, *loc. cit.*

[32] Gaspari, *loc. cit.*

[33] This will, with two attached codicils, is published in *La Madonna del Fuoco,* III (1917), pp. 31-36, 46-47, 63-68, IV (1917), pp. 11-15, 43-47. The original will was made on January 10, 1449, with the subsequent codicils on January 23, 1452, and February 8, 1457. Haberl, *op. cit.,* p. 47, mentions only the original will and on its basis assumes Ugolino's death to have taken place shortly after 1449. The microfilms of the pertinent sections of *La Madonna del Fuoco* were made available to me through the kindness of Sig. Nino Pirrotta and Mr. Leo Schrade.

[34] Haberl, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

"Ugolinum cognomine Urbevetanum, forliviensem archdiaconum nostrum modestissimum, quis negabit?: inter musicos cum ferme supremum teneat locum et philosophie ac sacrarum literarum studiis ornatus sit, maiorem ad proprias virtutes occultandas, quam alii ad celanda vitia, diligentiam adhibet." [35]

The evidence of what we know of his life, and, more important, the evidence of the *Declaratio,* bear out this judgment to the fullest degree.

The Manuscripts

L London, British Museum, add. 33519.
Quarto, 110 ff. [36], paper.

Literature: Caretta, Alessandro, Cremascoli, Luigi, and Salamina, Luigi. *Franchino Gaffurio.* Lodi, 1951. Pp. 117-118.
Catalogue of Additions to the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII - MDCCCXCIII. London, 1894. Pp. 39-40.
Hughes-Hughes, Augustus. *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum,* Vol. III. London, 1909, P. 306.
Lee, Sidney, ed. Article, "Hope, John", in *Dictionary of National Biography,* Vol. XXVII. Pp. 322-323.
Motta, Emilio. „I libri della Chiesa dell' Incoronata di Lodi nel 1518", in *Il Libro e la Stampa,* Vol. I (N.S.), fasc. 4-5, pp. 105-112.

While all the details are not completely clear, we know much more about the past history of this manuscript than that of any of the others under consideration. Its origin is certain, for the colophon appearing on f. 110' is specific as to both the original owner and the principal scribe. It reads:

„Explicit liber quintus Musicae Magistri Ugolini Urbeventani Ferariensis Archipresbiteri, scriptus Pisauri a me Fratre Nicolao de Curte Papiensi ad requisitionem Venerandi Religiosi Domini Iacobi de Cincinnatis de Gravina Pisauri Canonici, et cetera, 1477, die secunda Ianuarii, tempore quo auditum est flagitiosum et nefarium facinus et proditorium, scilicet, proditorem quendam occidisse Illustrissimum ducem Mediolani Galeazzum quintum Sfortiam, facinus lamentabile et fere et omnino mestum atque lacrimabile et maxime memorabile atque admodum atrum." [37]

[35] Giuseppe Mazzatinti, ed., *Annales Forolivienses (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* XXII, Pt. II, ed. Muratori) (Citta di Castello, 1903), p. 108.

[36] This figure is that given by the various catalogues of the British Museum. However, their foliation, which is that employed in the critical text, does not take into account blank or lost folios. If these are considered the original manuscript will include 118 folios, 110 containing text or diagrams, seven blank and one lost.

[37] The *Catalogue of Additions . . . .,* pp. 39-40, omits in its transcriptions of the above, the phrase, ". . . . et fere et omnino mestum atque lacrimabile . . . ."

The second owner of record is the celebrated theorist Franchino Gafori, who was born in Lodi, a part of the Duchy of Milan, in 1451, and who spent his life in Milan itself as a teacher and composer, dying there in 1522. Concrete evidence of Gafori's ownership appears in two statements of possession within the codex, the first, on f. 4', reading, "Liber Franchini Gafurii laudensis musicam Mediolani profatentis". The second, on f. 110', at the bottom of the page, reads, "Franchini Gafori laudensis musicae professoris est hic liber."

Whether he purchased the codex directly from its original owner or from an intermediary possessor cannot be determined. Comparison, however, of the two versions of Gafori's treatise, the *Theoricum opus musice discipline,* published in 1480, and the *Theorica musice,* published in 1492, shows that all references to Ugolino are additions made to the text of 1480, which carried none. Thus Franchino Gafori must have acquired the manuscript between the years 1480 and 1492.

There are also many annotations within the margins of the treatise itself in the same hand as that of the statements of ownership. Comparison of these with known samples of Gafori's handwriting show that they are identical, indicating that they are to be ascribed to Gafori himself [38]. He also prepared a complete index of the contents of the codex, found on ff. 1'-3'.

In 1518 Gafori was asked by the "Deputati" of the Church of the Incoronation at Lodi if he would present his library to that congregation. He did so, and among the books presented was the present codex of the *Declaratio* [39]. The volume remained in this collection until 1694, when most of the books within the library were turned over to the congregation of St. Philip of Neri. The reason for the surrender of the volumes was the disuse into which the collection had fallen, particularly the works in Latin [40].

The history of the manuscript from this date until 1888, the year of its appearance in the British Museum, cannot be determined. Certain deductions, however, may be drawn to suggest what may have occurred.

The codex in its present condition is furnished with the book-plate of John Hope, the fourth Earl of Hopetown (1765-1823), who is primarily known for his part in the Napoleonic Wars, in which he served as an assistant to the Duke of Wellington in the Spanish compaigns. Although

[38] Facsimiles of Gafori's script are given by Caretta, *op. cit., passim,* and Handschin, "Anselmi's Treatise on Music annotated by Gafori", in *Musica Disciplina,* II (1948), pp. 123-140.

[39] See Motta, *op. cit.,* p. 111, where the *Declaratio* is listed as part of the "Inventarium Librorum Venerandae Scolae et Fabricae Sanctae Mariae Coronatae Laudae" of 1518.

[40] For the text of this surrender, see Caretta, *op. cit.,* pp. 117-118.

the manuscript may already have been in his ancestral library, it is possible that it was purchased during the 1780's, when the young Earl went on a tour of Europe, the accepted custom for young noblemen of the period. Significantly other books owned by Franchino Gafori and given by him to the library at Lodi are now part of the Ambrosiana, in Milan [41], suggesting that those books on music which were cleared out of the library in Lodi in 1694 were not considered of great importance and consequently may have been sold at the time by the Lodi organization or later by the congregation of St. Philip of Neri [42]. Whatever may have been the course of events, the British Museum acquired the codex in 1888 by sale, since no notation of gift can be found in the catalogues of that institution.

In the manuscript as it now stands there are two sets of foliations, the first entered by Gafori or by its original possessor, the second added by a staff member of the British Museum, in all likelihood the same person who wrote on the recto of the back flyleaf the notation, "110 ff. ES. March, 1889. / Exmd. A. G." These two foliations do not coincide at any point.

Two factors have caused this lack of coincidence. The first is that the original foliation begins only with the actual start of Ugolino's text on the fifth folio, the first four folios being devoted to the table of contents drawn up by Gafori himself and an additional blank folio, suggesting that these four were added after the original foliation had been made.

Secondly, the British Museum foliation is one of text only, all blank folios being unnumbered. Since there are seven such plus one folio that has disappeared, the actual total today is 118. The seven blank folios are those carried in the original foliation as ff. 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. That one folio has been lost is certain for there is no folio between ff. 43 and 45 of the old numbering.

Two mistakes have been noted in the binding of the volume, mistakes made before the addition of this oldest set of folio numbers. The first is that the center sheet of an original five beginning on f. 55 was misbound as the center sheet of the original five beginning on f. 83, making it a six and reducing the gathering beginning on f. 55. to a four. Therefore the correct order of text reads (in the older foliation) ff. 55/58 - 88/89 - 59/87 - 90, etc., or in the newer numbering ff. 51/54 - 84/85 - 55/83 - 86, etc.

The second error falls in the last five, ff. 105 - 114' in the older foliation, ff. 101 - 110' in the newer. Here the inner group of four sheets has been completely reversed. The order in which the folios must be taken to

[41] Treatises by Jean de Muris and Anselmus are found there, copies owned by Gafori. Caretta, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Handschin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[42] See Handschin, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124, for the circumstances under which the Anselmus manuscript was purchased for the Ambrosiana.

achieve the correct sequence is ff. 105 - 110/113 - 106/109 - 114 in the older numbering, ff. 101 - 106/109 - 102/105 - 110 in the newer.

The codex is textually incomplete, containing only a small portion of Book I, Books IV and V, and the treatise on the monochord. The part of Book I included is not consecutive, for the positions of Chapters III and I are reversed while Chapters II and IV are omitted. Only the final chart of Chapter V is included. Thereafter the text runs in its correct order until its final breaking off in Chapter XIV.

In addition to the incompleteness of the text proper, the codex is almost devoid of charts, although space has been left for their inclusion. A few have been entered into the manuscript here and there, but there is no consistency or plan.

The arrangement of the text according to the later foliation is:

ff. 1			*Signum B. M.*
1'-3'			*Indices*
4			*Vacat*
4'			Liber Franchini Gafurii laudensis musicam Mediolani profatentis.
5	Bk. I	*Inc:*	Declaratio Musice Ugolini Urbevetanis .... Potentiarum anime nobilissima esse noscitur ...
11'		*Expl:*	... ut in subscriptae figurae descriptione patet. *Sex ff. vacant*
12	Bk. IV	*Inc.*	In nomine sanctissime et individue trinitatis. Incipit liber quartus musice discipline. [T]res esse musicas, mundanam, scilicet, humanam et instrumentalem ...
40		*Expl:*	... removeatur 8 ad 6 remanet sexquioctava 9 ad 8. Finis. Deo gratias. Amen. Finis. Vale.
41	Bk. V	*Inc:*	Incipit liber quintus. In nomine sancte et individue ... Et si in huius operis nostri primordio de excelentia atque intellectus ...
96		*Expl:*	... Item reprehendit quod non posuerit plures species dyatonici. Finis huius quinti libri. Deo gratias.
96'-97			*Vacant*
97'	Tract. Mono.	*Inc.*	In nomine sanctissime et individue trinitatis. [M]usice discipline quinque partium pratice et speculative ...
109'		*Expl:*[43]	... Huius autem ficte secunde divisionis demonstratio est hoc.
110			*Vacat*

[43] See above to note the correct order of the foliation within the codex, for the true end of the treatise falls upon f. 105', with a chart of both methods of determining *musica ficta.*

110' *Colophon:* Explicit liber quintus musicae Magistri Ugolini . . . memorabile atque admodum atrum. Franchini Gafori laudensis musicae professoris est hic liber.

In spite of the reference by the colophon on f. 110' to only one scribe, two hands are clearly distinguishable in the text of the treatise. The first appears in Book I or what there is of it, the second, that of Nicolaus de Curte, the Scribe named in the colophon, in the rest of the codex. The two are easily differentiated for that of the first is characteristically marked by shaded letters ("s" and "f"), suggesting his use of a more flexible pen or one of a more stub-like nature, while that of the second is finer in line and less diagonal in appearance. Further, those examples which have been entered in the manuscript, principally in Book V, are in the hand of the first scribe, suggesting that part of his task was not only the completion of Book I but also the insertion of the examples and charts within the later books, a task which was not accomplished by the time the manuscript was turned over to its purchaser.

As a whole, the treatise has been most carefully copied, for there are only a few indications of corrections, placed either in the text itself or within the margins. Almost no errors of text repetition were made and, insofar as can be determined by collation with other manuscripts, there are no extensive omissions of portions of lines or of full sentences. Some of the errors that do exist may be traceable to the original, for in many places where an obvious mistake has been made, such as the presence of incorrect mathematical manipulations, the mistake is also found in other manuscripts.

The margins have also been used for the insertion of glosses and commentaries. There are two sets of these marginalia: one unidentifiable as to authorship, the other by Gafori. It is possible that the original owner of the codex is responsible for the first set.

As in nearly all the other manuscripts, *L* makes no identification of the digraph "ae". Spellings are generally in accord with the classic tradition, with only a few instances of the typical confusion between "c" and "t", and the use of an additional "h" in some words, such as in "prohemium", and an additional "c" as in "nichil". There is, however, the usual lack of consistency.

Abbreviations are of the general types to be found in all manuscripts of the period, with no particular problems of interpretation. The use of "9" for "cum" or "con" in compounds, the straight line over a vowel as a sign of "n" or "m", the wavy line as a substitute for "r" or "re", all these are quite familiar.

O Oxford, Bodleian, Canonici Misc. 42.
Quarto, 188 ff., paper.

Literature: Coxe, Henry. *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptum Bibliothecae Bodleniae, Pars tertia.* Oxonii, 1854. P. 462.
Madan, Falconer. *A Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.* Vol. IV. Oxford, 1897. Pp. 313-314.
Stainer, J. F. R., and Stainer, C. *Dufay and His Contemporaries,* London, 1898. Pp. vii-viii.

This manuscript is a part of the collection made by Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805) and purchased by the Bodleian in 1817 from Giovanni Perissinotti, to whom it had passed on the death of Canonici. From a manuscript catalogue compiled between 1742 and 1748 of the library of one Giacomo Soranzo, a volume now in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice, it is certain that the codex was a part of his collection at that time. It was purchased by Canonici sometime between 1773 and 1805, but whether directly from Soranzo's heirs or an intermediary is not known. Although part of Soranzo's collection was in turn derived from a collection made by a Venetian senator, one Recanati, who died in 1735, it is not sure that Ugolino's *Declaratio* formed a part of that library. As Soranzo had his books uniformly rebound, evidence of any previous ownership in the original binding and fly-leaves has been irrevocably destroyed. Although the codex today has a fly-leaf, it contains nothing that helps to solve this problem [44].

Coxe suggests that the codex dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century, a dating already proposed by the compiler of the fly-leaf. This prefatory half-sheet fly-leaf reads: "Ugolini Urbevetani / Archipresbyteri Ferrariensis / Declaratio Musicae Disciplinae, / ms. videtur ante 1500". At the top are two call numbers, the first, at the left and in the same hand as the title, reading, "n. 6 j." The second, in the right corner, is in a lighter or more faded ink and reads, "ii (ult.)". The information for the main title is taken directly from the first folio of the codex which follows immediately. The upper right corner of the first folio likewise bears a call number, "No. 6 I".

The foliation has a double set of numbers, both in the upper right corner of each recto, the upper and presumably older set being placed so near the upper margin that on some folios it is cut into or entirely missing, due to the action of the binder's knife. Both sets agree from the beginning as far as f. 150, but with f. 151 of the newer numbering the older numbering gives f. 153 and varies from the newer by one or two numbers on to the end. This variation may have been brought about by the loss of two blank folios at that point, but the older numbers are inconsistent and in-

[44] The information given in this paragraph has been derived from Stainer, *loc. cit.*

correct, for at a later folio they proceed in this order: f. 170, unnumbered, f. 170, f. 172. A little farther on two folios have been numbered 180 by the older hand. Since no loss of text is involved and there are no faults in the order of the various folios, the question of lost folios is irrelevant.

The codex contains only the first book of the five of Ugolino's *Decleratio*. On the other hand, it includes at the very end two chapters from the *Lucidarium* of Marchetus of Padua, together with three compositions for two voices, all anonymous.

The arrangement of text within the codex, according to the latest foliation, is:

ff. 1	*Inc:*	Yhs / In nomine sancte & individue trinitatis. Amen. Declaratio musice disciplinie . . . Liber primus incipit. Potentiarum anime nobilissime noscitur . . .
147	*Expl:*	. . . Hec differentia ad inferius quartam dicitur sine equalitate. Finis. Initium. Finis. Initium. (*cum notis*).
147'-148		*Vacant*
148'-149		*Imagines Madonnae et Fili*
149'-150		*Vacant*
151	*Inc:*	Regule seu declarationes Tractuum. Post differentiarum gradualium, et alleluia ac ipsorum versuum . . .
184	*Expl:*	. . . in medio vestei sum qui ministrat. (*cum notis*)
184'	*Inc:*	De clavi, quid sit & quot. Clavis est reservatio notarum in cantu . . . (*Cf.* Marchetus of Padua, *Lucidarium Musicae Planae, GS,* III, pp. 120-121).
185	*Expl:*	. . . Et haec de musica plana sufficiant ibi dicta. Le petit Basque.
185'-186		*Musica* (O fonte de belezze - 2 v.)
186'-187		*Musica* (Biancho ligiadro - 2 v.)
187'-188		*Musica* (*sine titulo* - 2 v.)

Some isolated words and figures appear on f. 188', but are in the nature of writing and drawing performed to test the pen, and give no clue to identify either ownership or provenance.

Two other extraneous insertions have here to be noted, the first being the presence of the number 1635 in the upper right corner of f. 149 where the second of two sketches of a Madonna and Child appears. The second, appearing within the blank space between chapters on f. 133', is the annotation, "memora / MDCXXIX, XXX, XXXI / questi tre ani è stato di carestia Jueva, è peste per tuta la italia."

Two scribes shared in the copying of the text of the codex. The difference in appearance of the hands is quite startling, for the one, seen in

most of the manuscript, is a humanistic book hand, while the other inclines to the cursive and is much larger in outline, with a certain carelessness of technique. The work of the first scribe is consistently clear and generally careful, while that of the second is often indistinct and blurred in outline. Both hands show here and there certain French characteristics, such as the formation of the letter "v" when it occurs initially, and the tailing of the "g", both different from Italian forms.

The musical examples within the text appear to have been written in after the completion of the text proper, for there are mistakes of repetition, and in some places lines have been drawn for notes upon which no notes appear. All the music seems to have been done by the same scribe, for the form of the notes, as well as the clefs, is the same throughout. A notable peculiarity is the employment of hollow notes for all the music, although the music is from the chant, which normally employs solid notation.

The three compositions outside the treatise appear to have been written in the same hand seen in the plainchant examples. The only variation is in the different formation of the F clef, for that employed in the tenor of the second composition is made up of a C clef with two tailed lozenges, one up and the other down, while that of the liturgical excerpts is formed by three lozenges, one before and on the line denoting the F, the others being placed immediately after in the spaces on both sides of that line. Yet such a difference does not seem to indicate a scribal change, or careful inspection gives the impression that the scribe originally thought that the tenor part employed the C clef on the third line and, upon completion of his task, noted that he should have used the F clef. He then attempted to correct his work by the addition of the tailed lozenges, using the tailed forms so that there would be no doubt that these were part of the clef sign and not part of the music. This conclusion is suggested by the appearance of the tenor in its second line, for the first note of music is far closer to the clef sign than normal. In all other details, there is no variation between the two types of music, thus leading to the conclusion that all the music in the codex was copied by the same scribe.

Rubrication has been added by a hand other than that employed in the main body of the text, and indications for the rubricator are placed here and there at the margins, often badly clipped by the binder. It is possible that the scribe who copied the music and one of the two textual scribes or the rubricator were the same person, but no standards of comparison can be found. Thus we may conclude that surely three, and possibly four, scribes were engaged in the copying of this manuscript.

The spellings employed by the first scribe are generally in accordance with the classic tradition as we know it today. He makes, however, no identification of the digraph "ae" and occasionally one encounters the

substitution of "c" for "t" or its reverse, "t" for "c". A superfluous "h" is often included in certain words, producing such spellings as "Anthiocheus", "anthiphonas", but none of this is consistent, for the spelling "antiphone" may be found in the immediately following line or paragraph. The same characteristics are also found in that portion copied by the second scribe.

Abbreviations are normal, the second scribe making far greater use of them than the first. Since the portion with which he is concerned is that listing the titles of many chants, these titles are sometimes abbreviated to the point that they are almost indecipherable without reference to a chant book.

The great mass of corrections are in the text proper, most of them being indicated by a striking through of the erroneous word or words with continuation of the passage, showing that correction was made during the course of the writing rather than after. Some few corrections are in the margins, but these are by the scribe involved in that particular portion of the text. In general, it seems from the appearance of the text that the first scribe was far more careful in his copying, for there are many more deletions and additions in the part of the second scribe.

There are a few marginal annotations in the nature of commentary on or disagreement with the text. These are not found consistently, however, and are usually confined to matters of factual diagreement, rather than explanation pure and simple. The other marginalia are indications of the material to be inserted by the rubricator.

We have already mentioned Coxe's suggestion that the manuscript is datable from the latter part of the fifteenth century. Such a conclusion seems quite sound, not only on the basis of the appearance of the scripts, but also upon certain extra-paleographical details.

The presence of the subscription "Le petit Basque" on f. 185, where it serves as a signature for the whole manuscript, may well indicate that he was the principal scribe. While little is known about the exact identity of "Le petit Basque", he is represented in Florence, B.N. centrale, XIX, 176. This manuscript was copied around 1500 in Italy [45]. It is probable that our manuscript of the *Declaratio* is of the same general period.

One unsolved problem is the inclusion of two chapters of the *Lucidarium* of Marchetus of Padua. The first of these is Tractatus XIV, the second Tractatus XVI. Several hypotheses may be presented: e.g., that the scribe felt that the subject matter of these two chapters had been omitted from Ugolino's *Declaratio* and the easiest way to repair the omission was to

[45] See Knud Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier* (Kopenhagen and Leipzig, 1927), p. LXII.

insert sections of other works which would fill in the gap. It is also possible that the manuscript from which *O* was copied was a compendium of several treatises, and, finding no real end to the section written by Ugolino due to the use of a section of plainchant as a closing item, the scribe decided that there had been an omission. In such a case he possibly went on to the next treatise, copying what he saw there under the illusion that it properly belonged to Ugolino's portion of the book; he may also have intended to include more of Marchetus but was prevented from doing so for unknown reasons [46].

R_1 Rome, Casanatense, Ms. 2151 [olim C. II 3] [47]
Folio, 31,8 x 22,8 cm. [48], 345 ff. [49], parchment.

Literature: Haberl, F. X. "Bio-bibliographische Notizen..." in *KMJ,* X (1895), pp. 46-48.
La Fage, Adrien de. *Essais de Diphtérographie Musicale.* Paris, 1864. Pp. 116-166.
Wolf, Johannes. *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation.* Leipzig, 1904. Vol. I, pp. 339-340.

Of all the manuscripts containing the *Declaratio,* this particular one has been most frequently mentioned. All citations found in Baini, La Fage, Ambros, Kornmüller, Haberl, Wolf, Pietzsch, *et al.,* are taken directly from this manuscript.

The reasons for this are easy to understand. Music historians noticed this manuscript first because of the incidental references by Baini and the description, with selected excerpts, made by La Fage. Secondly, to the present time it is the only extant manuscript which contains the complete treatise, including all five books and the section on the monochord.

[46] For the sake of completeness we indicate here the results of collation with *GS,* III, pp. 120-121. P. 120, col. 1: 2 sunt *om,* 3 reservatio *pro* reseratio, 4 clavim *om,* 5 reservatur hostium *pro* reseratur ostium, 5 conservandum *pro* conservanda, 6 hostium *pro* ostium, 7 reservatur *pro* reseratur, 8 neuma *pro* nomina, 18 acuta, & superacuta? Dicimus, quod vox gravis *om,* 21 a *pro* in, 22 resonatio *pro* resonantia, 31 loco *om,* 33 similiter (septem) *add,* 34 gravibus *pro* generibus, 36 ideo *pro* ratio. P. 120, col. 2: 2 enim *pro* etenim, 4 a G *pro* in C, 5 est notandum *pro* notandum est, 6 unaqueque *pro* unaquaque. II *Expl:* distinguuntur. P. 121, col. 1: 6 ac *pro* atque, reque gravibus *pro* deque generibus. P. 121, col. 2: 1 si *pro* seu, 3 ita *pro* itaque, 6 & *om,* 12 ibi *pro* tibi, Expl: dicta.

[47] Haberl, *op. cit.,* p. 48, incorrectly gives this number as C. II 4.

[48] These measurements are taken from Wolf, *GdM,* I, p. 339. La Fage, *op. cit.,* p. 116, notes the size as 22 x 16 cm.

[49] This figure of 345 ff. is that shown by the latest set of numbers and is based directly on the number of folios actually present. The variations in figures seen in all the secondary sources are due to peculiarities of the manuscript to be discussed in the course of the description.

The history of the manuscript has been complicated by the loss of three of the original folios at the beginning and one or more at the end. Thus all indications which may have been present on fly-leaves and in a colophon have completely disappeared. The only reference to previous ownership appears at the top of what is now the third folio. It comes together with the beginning of the hand of the original scribe and reads: "Di F. Aurelio Arigoni de Sto Agostino". This superscription probably refers to a seventeenth century owner, since the appearance of the hand suggests such a conclusion and indicates from its placement that it was added before the restitution of the lost portion of the text, which in turn is of a definitely eighteenth century cast.

About all that can be said is that the manuscript was copied around the middle of the fiftheenth century, and is in an Italian humanistic book hand typical of that period. Its earliest documented appearance is in the library of G. Baini, upon whose death in 1844 it passed to the Biblioteca Casanatense.

At the present time the manuscript carries a complete foliation, a pagination and remnants of an even earlier foliation. Although the earliest numbering has, in most cases, been completely cut from the top of the folios by the action of the binder's knife, enough is left that, with the help of the index appearing at the end, a clear picture of the original can be gained.

By careful checking, both with the index and by actual count of those numbers which still can be deciphered, it has been found that the point at which we see the original hand with the words, "mirabilis harmoniae referta . . .", was at one time the fourth folio, rather than the third as it is today. Thus it is obvious that at some time the original manuscript lost its first three folios, which were replaced during the eighteenth century by two. At least one folio at the end has disappeared, for the final composition is incomplete.

Evidently the index cannot be used today as an accurate guide to the contents of the volume, for it will be at least one folio number wrong at all times. One other factor also enters in the use of the index, for the compiler has followed an unusual method of indicating material location. If the beginning of a chapter falls upon a verso the index gives the number of the following recto; thus, in many cases, the index will be two folios wrong [50].

[50] The figure of 347 ff., seen in La Fage, *op. cit.*, p. 116, and Eitner, *Q-L*, X, p. 4, was derived from just such a mistaken use of the index. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 339, has compounded the error by multiplying by two to find the number of pages, getting 694 as his result. This figure, however, was further corrupted by a printer's mistake, giving 674 pp. as the final total.

A second set of numbers, also appearing in the upper right hand corner of each recto, is a pagination which has been used in the preparation of the critical text. The first page number is that of page 12, with the preceding 18 pages being unnumbered. If one carries this pagination backwards, there still remain seven which have no numbers, for the recto always carries an even number rather than the customary odd. References to these early pages are by figures within a parenthesis.

There is a second set of folio numbers, seen in the extreme lower right hand corner of each recto. These are made by a machine and probably date from after 1904, since Johannes Wolf, in describing the manuscript in his *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation,* without doubt would have utilized them if they had been present at that time. They are accurate throughout and take into account only those folios which are actually present [51].

The arrangement of the text within the codex is:

pp. (1)			*Notitia ab anonymo.*
(2)	Bk. I	*Inc:*	Musica magistri Ugolini de Orvieto. Potentiarum animae nobilissima . . .
197		*Expl:*	. . . in medio vestei sum qui ministrat. (*cum notis*)
197	Bka II	*Inc:*	Musice discipline Ugolini Urbevetani liber secundus. Homo dicitur esse liber . . .
262		*Expl:*	. . . ut in ipso C valeat sexta maior reperiri.
262	Bk. III	*Inc:*	Aristotle in elenchis persuadens . . .
468		*Expl:*	. . . defectum suppleat caritatis perfectio.
469	Bk. IV	*Inc:*	Tres esse musicas, mundanam, scilicet . . .
526		*Expl:*	. . . removeatur 8 ad 6 remanet sexquioctava 9 ad 8. Sequitur liber quintus.
527	Bk. V	*Inc:*	Etsi in huius operis nostri primordio de excellentia . . .
648		*Expl:*	. . . Item reprehendit quod non posuerit plures species diatonici. Sequitur tractatus monocordi.
649	Tract. Mono.	*Inc:*	Declaratio monocordi. Musicae disciplinae quinque partium . . .
669		*Expl:*	. . . huius autem divisionis demonstratio est haec.
670-677			*Indices*
678			*Vacat*
679-680			*Musica* (Si videar - 2 v.)
681-682			*Musica* (Lalta virtute - 2 v.)
683			*Musica* (Chi solo - 2 v.?)

In the original portion of the manuscript there are two clearly differentiated hands. The first is that employed in the text proper of the treatise.

[51] Due to a photographer's error, none of the machine-numbered foliations were included in the visible area of the microfilms employed in the preparation of the critical text.

This scribe also provided the texts and designations of the shorter musical examples, i.e., those whose length could be accurately estimated in advance. The explanations of the longer musical examples, those which occupy a large space on the page, were inserted by a different scribe, who doubtless was reponsible for the music itself as well.

The codex also shows evidence of careful revision, for there are many corrections, all entered quite clearly. Generally they appear in the margins, but occasionally within the text itself. There are but few corrections over erasures.

Thus the Casanatense manuscript in the main body of its text is a very careful copy of its source. However, this statement cannot be made for the material added at the beginning, the two folios copied out to replace those which were missing. On the basis of textual collation it appears that our eighteenth century scribe worked from another member of the same manuscript family, but the great number of misreadings permit no sure identification of his source. This copyist was quite unversed in Latin paleography and had difficulty comprehending the meaning of his text. The following table of misreadings, while not complete, will give some idea of the types of errors committed.

> "igitur" for "regitur"; "materies" for "naturas"; "dicit" for "elicit"; "remota" for "semota"; "quo" for "pro"

The musical examples are copied out on five red lines in the black notation common to the period. In addition, Book II also employs red notes to indicate the tenor against which the counterpoint has been added.

Spellings encountered are normally those of the classic tradition. It is quite customary, however, to meet with the spelling "heae" for "eae", as well as "hiis" for "iis". "C" is also substituted for "t" in such words as "spatium", "nuntio" and "mollities". There is a lack of consistency in orthography, for the same word may be spelled differently within the same paragraph or even within the same sentence.

The use of abbreviations within the main body of the manuscript is very rare. All are of the same general type as commonly found in manuscripts of the period, with the emphasis laid on the provision of abbreviations for declensional and conjugational endings. But the use of abbreviation is considerably restricted, for most words are written out in full, even such ones as "sive", "igitur", "huiusmodi", *et al.,* which are found in shortened form in all the other manuscripts. The diagraph "ae" is indicated throughout, either by the use of a cedilla-like addition below the "e", or by the complete spelling out of the digraph itself.

There are some few other annotations in addition to the marginalia

indicating correction and emendation. These, however, are all reference marks, with the important word or words of the paragraph carried over to the margin, thus serving as something to catch the eye and making it easier to find desired passages in skimming. These are not in a hand which can be identified with that of either of the scribes concerned with the text. Paleographically they date from the latter part of the fifteenth century thus showing how carefully a reader of that period has annotated certain passages.

This codex is also the sole known source for musical compositions of Ugolino himself, for two complete works and one voice of a third are present in the manuscript. The authorship of Ugolino is indicated in the superscription, common to all three compositions, "Idem Ugolinus". These compositions, like the musical examples within the body of the text, are written on five red lines. They employ full black, full red, and hollow red notes in their musical text. The two complete compositions are presented in transcription, together with explanations of the notational obscurities found therein.

One further point needs mention, the presence of a short descriptive notice on the outside cover of the manuscript proper. This comment has been prepared by some unnamed member of the staff of the Casanatense. It reads:

> "Codex a clarissimo Bainio Bibliothecae Casanatensi dono datus anno 1844.
>
> Musica Magistri Ugolini Urbevetanis.
>
> Codex Sec. XV in initio, quod colligitur ex paleographicis notis, initialibus aureis, opus sane musicae erutiditione undequaque perspicuum. De autore tamen nihil huiusque reperimus eo quod fortassis nondum in lucem editum est opus. *Vide* in catalogo historicum auctorum, qui extat in Bibliotheca Casanatense, verbo Forolivii: in primis Marchesium-Vivianum Buonacursium in opere memoriae istoriche: item in alio *Vitae vivorum illustrium Forolivensium.* Dein, de praelaudato Ugolino agit suus coetaneus Blondus Flavius Foroliviensis in *Italia illustrata:* imo etiam Muratori in tomo XXII *antiquatum,* etc., et alii quoque. Huius operis extant plura exemplaria quae inter indicatur quod extat famae in Bibliotheca Jesu, alterum Bononiae in publica Bibliotheca Ricardiana. Multum ex his est autographum, solum codex Casanatensis omnes quinque libros ab auctore scriptos et in Praefatione recensitos continet."

From internal evidence it would seem that this notice was written somewhere after 1855 and before 1864, for the reference to the copy of the treatise found in the Bibliotheca Gesù is to the Rossi codex, which appeared in that library in 1855, while the notice is mentioned by La Fage in the *Diphthérographie,* published in 1864.

There is one error in the description. The manuscript referred to as being part of the Biblioteca Ricardiana is in actuality that belonging to the Magliabecchiana, listed here under the symbol *F*.

R_2 Rome, Vatican, Rossiano 455 (olim IX 145) [52]
Folio, 32,8 x 23 cm, 249 ff. [53], parchment.

Literature: Gollob, Eduard. "Die Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegiums in Wien XIII (Lainz) und ihre Handschriften" in *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (Phil.-Hist. Klasse)*. Band 161, Abh. 7, Wien, 1909.
Haberl, F. X. "Bio-bibliographische Notizen...", in *KMJ*, X (1895), p. 48.
Silva-Taronca, C. "La Biblioteca Rossiana" in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, anno 73° (1922), I, p. 330.
Tietze, Hans. *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, V. Band)*. Leipzig, 1911. Pp. 127-128.

This manuscript is a part of the great collection of over 1000 codices, about 2500 incunabulae and above 6000 other printed books made by the Italian nobleman, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi, between 1838 and 1854. Upon his death in the latter year, his widow, not wishing to separate and disperse such a monument to the collecting zeal of her husband, gave the entire library to the Society of Jesus. Her act of donation is dated March 6, 1855. Under the terms of the gift the Emperor of Austria, her relative, was given the responsibility of seeing that her stipulations as to the care of the collection were carried out. In 1877 the library was transported to Vienna where it remained until 1922, when, in view of the political changes after the first World War, the return of the collection to Rome was considered to conform more appropriately to the conditions of the donation. There it became one of the libraries housed and serviced by the Vatican [54].

The history of the manuscript prior to its appearance in the Rossi collection is unknown. The manuscript bears no indications of any previous ownership and no colophon. The original binding which might have been of some assistance in determining something of its former ownership was replaced by Rossi with a special binding designed to make all the books in his collection uniform in appearance. In the process of rebinding, it is quite probable that fly-leaves and marginal annotations were also destroyed, for

[52] Silva-Taronca erroneously refers to the codex as IX 180. A letter from Mr. Paul Geier of the Cultural Section of the American Embassy at Rome, dated February 10, 1953, has indicated, on the authority of Dr. Augusto Campana of the Vatican library staff, that its original number was IX 145.

[53] Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 127, gives this total as 251.

[54] For a complete outline of the history of the formation of this collection and the circumstances of the donation, see Gollob, *op cit.*, pp. 1-7.

in some other manuscripts of this library the miniatures have been badly defaced and cut into by the action of the binder's knife.

Tietze suggests that the source of the manuscript is upper Italy, probably Verona or Mantua, showing strong influences of Padua in the miniatures and illuminations. He dates the codex as having been written about 1460, a date also suggested by Silva-Taronca, who possibly based his statement on that of Tietze.

The manuscript is most beautifully illuminated [55], indicating that, in all probability, it was prepared for the library of some noble or wealthy patron. Among the figures are those of angels playing various instruments, such as the lute or the organ, ornamental marginal decorations and extravagant initials and representation of various great musicians of the past, including Pythagoras.

There may have been no foliation in the original or it may have been cut off in the rebinding process as has already been mentioned. A previous handwritten foliation appears in the lower right corner of the first few folios, each numeral being prefaced by the letter "a", suggesting that at one time the *Declaratio* may have been the first manuscript in a compendium, each being foliated separately and distinguished one from the other by a prefatory letter. No further example of this type of numbering appears in the remainder of the codex.

The present foliation is that made by a modern numbering machine in the Vatican library, placed in the lower right corner of each recto.

The text within the codex is incomplete, lacking all of Book V save one chapter and the final treatise on the monochord. The one chapter from Book V, Chapter XXXI, is included as the final chapter of Book III, whose identification is assured by the presence of that chapter in both L and R_1 as a part of Book V.

The present order of foliation is correct throughout, and there have been no errors of binding.

The arrangement of the text within the codex is:

ff. 1	Bk. I	*Inc:*	Tractatus seu declaratio . . . Potentiarum anime nobilissima esse . . .
100		*Expl:*	. . . in medio vestei sum qui ministrat. (*cum notis*)
100	Bk. II	*Inc:*	Musice discipline liber secundus . . . Homo dicitur esse liber . . .
131'		*Expl:*	. . . in ipso C valeat sexta maior reperiri.
131'	Bk. III	*Inc:*	Aristoteles in elenchis persuadens . . .
224		*Expl:*	. . . defectum suppleat caritatis perfectio.

[55] For a complete description of the various illuminations see Tietze, *loc. cit.* Tietze also includes one plate of a full page (Taf. V) and reproductions of portions of three other pages (Figs. 135-137).

224	Bk. V Ch. XXXI	*Inc:*	Qualiter Pythagoras... Legimus ut refert Moyses...
225		*Expl:*	... earum proporcio racione comprehenditur.
225	Bk. IV	*Inc:*	Musice discipline liber quartus... Tres esse musicas...
249		*Expl:*	... removeatur 8 ad 6 remanet sexquioctava proporcio 9 ad 8.

The reason for the peculiar placement of the chapter from Book V within the limits of Book III is not apparent. Misbinding of the signatures or misfoliation is not the answer. The chapter does not begin at the top of a recto folio but in the middle, and f. 224 is not the start of a gathering.

It may be that the placement of the chapter in question seemed incorrect within the context of Book V and was removed to its present location for consistency. Inspection of the contents of Chapters XXX and XXXII of Book V lends weight to this assumption for both are concerned with mathematical relationships of tones and intervals, and in many ways the chapter in question acts as an interruption.

Folio 249' is blank, suggesting that there may have been an original intention to complete the manuscript.

Several scribes took part in copying the codex. There is no discernible plan in the alternations as the hands often change in the middle of a sheet which is inside a gathering. Changes even occur in the middle of sentences, changes which may last for only a folio or so. While most of the hands employed are the so-called book hands, one, found principally in Book III, is more cursive, containing many more abbreviations and being larger in size. Another hand, also noticeable in Book III, is noteworthy since it is the only one to indicate the digraph "ae". Not only does it employ a small stroke below the "e" for this purpose, but the two letters are frequently written out in full.

The musical examples are also the work of several scribes, but these do not change in passages which coincide with changes in the hands of the text. Two hands can be distinguished. A particularly noticeable variation may be observed in the formation of the clef sign, in which one hand makes a smaller and softer outline, while the other manifests a certain angularity and carelessness of technique. Red notes have been employed in Books II and III, in Book II to set off the given tenors, in Book III to indicate mensural values of a different length than those of the black notes.

Certain spellings agree with those found in R_1, for example the use of "hii" for "i" and the substitution of "c" for "t" by certain of the scribes as in such words as "proporcio" and "racio". The substitution of "y" for "i" in words such as "ymmo", "dyapente" and "dyatesseron" is quite common. Some scribes employ "n" for "m" occasionally, thus presenting the spellings, "inmediate", "nanque", "impresentiarum", etc. There is no consistency in

these matters from one scribe to another, however, and sometimes within sections copied by one hand the same word may be spelled two or three different ways.

Abbreviations are those usual in manuscripts of the period. Evidence of greater than normal care includes the relative sparsity of abbreviation within the portions written in book hands, for there the use of abbreviation is confined to the more common ones for the standard words, such as "s." for "scilicet", ".i." for "id est", "ê" for "est". Declensional and conjugational endings are the principal occasions for use of contractions.

Some corrections have been made within the text, but these are neither extensive nor thorough, being done probably in the course of the copying. As a result the margins are almost completely free of corrections or textual emendations.

In addition to a general lack of marginal correction, there is likewise a total absence of commentary upon the text. This tends to verify the hypothesis presented earlier that this codex was designed to become an ornament of the library of a noble or wealthy book collector rather than professional equipment of a teacher or practicing musician.

Besides the codex itself, there is at the beginning of the manuscript one folded interleaf in Italian, unsigned and dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. It reads:

[f. 1] "Il manoscritti
Tractatus seu declaratio musica discipline
1°. è Anonimo.
2. è stato scritto originalmente dall'autore (al mio giudizio) verso il 1400 dell' era Christiana.
3. è mancante del fine del penultimo libro e dell'ultimo assolutamente de' 5 libro promessi.
4. è autor pratico delle stile della capella pontificia dotto e motodico.
5. Nel 1°., 2°., 3°., e 4°. libro e nella chiarezza de'precetti è piu classico de quanti ho letti finora conpreso eziando il Zarlino.
6. [*blot*]i rassomiglia molto questo scritto di musica a quello che fu stampato tralle opere del Venerabile Beda che fu attribuito a questo Sto. Hionio con poca ragione. Non vi sono altri tra'musici stampati o manoscritti che questo e i libri di Beda che ci spieghino le misure del tempo Musicale comentando il Libro del inventor Giovanni de Muris
[f. 1'] delle moderne note musiche con la diferanza tra i Libri / di Musica attribuiti a Beda e tra questo Manoscritto che que'paìono un compendio di questo autore Manoscritto la qual cosa lo rende rarissimo e molto piu raro ancora ci si presenta il manoscritto essendo l'unico che ci conservi sotto il titolo di *modi* di *prolazione del tempo* le leggi da distribuir il tempo secondo le sillabe equivalente al greco tractato de piedi ritmici ignorato al presente dei Moderni Maestri. [56]

[56] The references here to the work of the Venerable Bede are to the treatise *Musica quadrata seu mensurata* which, in the light of present musicological study is

7. Questo manoscritto ci mostra che fin'al suo tempo nel canto si appressava il valore sillabico per la distribuzione del tempo musicale cioè fin'al 1400 poco più o meno, la qual cosa si è senza ragione abbandonata.
8. Nel 1°. Libro l'autore seguita a Boezio.
nel 2°. gli stili di canto della capella pontificia e gli insegnamenti di Guido Aretini il cui exacordo è depinto nella 3a. colonna della pittura corretti et accresciuti dalla capella romana.
[f. 2] 9. Nel 3°. comenta a Giovanni Muris canonico francese e in-ventore del moderno sistema di notare il canto, il testo di Muris cui trovato forse altrove non si conserva. nel 4°. torna a seguir gli insegnamenti delle proporzioni di Boezio e di Claudio Ptolomeo l'armonico, e pare che li compendi.
10. Nel testo del Libro di Muris comentato dal nostro autore trovo citato un assai celebre Maestro di Musica e la cui pratica s'obbietta Muris chiamato Guillielmo di Mascandio di cui forse non vi e notizia fuori da questo Manoscritto."

R_3 Rome, Vatican, lat. 5324.
Quarto, 72 ff., paper.

Literature: Coussemaker, Edmond de. *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge.* Paris, 1852. P. 219.
Haberl, F. X. "Bio-bibliographische Notizen..." in *KMJ,* X (1895), p. 48.

This manuscript has never been the subject of any descriptive account and, with the exception of Coussemaker and Haberl, has not been noticed by any scholar. It is not included in any of the printed catalogues issued sproradically by the Vatican and, in even so recent a publication as Rubsamen's *Music Research in Italian Libraries,* it is not mentioned.

Since the manuscript itself contains no indications of any ownership except that of the Vatican, nothing in the way of a historical background can even be suggested. Paleographically it seems to derive from northern Italy and from some time during the latter part of the fifteenth century.

There are no mistakes in the continuity of the first five gatherings. However, the sixth gathering (from f. 51 to f. 60) was completely misarranged in the binding process. The order in which the folios must be read within the sixth gathering is ff. 51, 52, 58, 56, 57, 54, 55, 53, 59 and 60. From inspection of this incorrect sequence it is easy to see that the outer two sheets of the gathering were left undisturbed. The third sheet, while still in its proper place, was completely reversed. The fourth and fifth sheets were not only reversed but also interchanged.

The next four folios, while correctly numbered, have been bound in this order: ff. 62, 61, 64 and 63. Since the following six folios are in correct

a work of Pseudo-Aristotle, although published as a part of the corpus of the work of Bede. See Hüschen, "Beda Venerabilis", in *MGG,* I, col. 1491-93.

order, it is evident that the four misbound folios make up only a two in which the outer and inner sheets have changed position.

There is a break in the text between f. 70' and f. 71, indicating that several folios have been lost. How many cannot be determined exactly, but in view of the amount of missing text it may be assumed that four have disappeared.

The foliation is handwritten and appears in the upper right corner of each recto. Unlike most Vatican manuscripts it does not bear the customary machine numbering in the lower right corner. The portion of the codex from f. 51 on was originally numbered in a new series, beginning with 1 and continuing. This second portion has been corrected to form a complete sequence from the beginning.

The arrangement of text within the codex is:

ff. 1	Bk. II	*Inc:*	Incipit liber secundus declarationis musice discipline, et cetera. Homo dicitur esse liber qui sui ipsius causa . . .
41'		*Expl:*	. . . ubi non est debet collocari ut in ipso C valeat sexta maior reperiri. Laus tibi Christe qui liber explicit iste.
41'	Bk. III	*Inc:*	Incipit liber tercius declarationis musice discipline. Aristoteles in elenechis [*sic*] persuadens...
43'		*Expl:*	. . . Quoniam in musica nuda seu plana cantu plano ee melodiarum. [Pro-57]
44-50'			*Vacant* [57]
51	Bk. IV	*Inc:*	Tres esse musicas, mundanam, scilicet, humanam et instrumentalem . . .
70'		*Expl:*	. . . 1163 partiens 1024as sicut dictum est, quod erat demonstrandum. *Hiatus in ms.*
71		*Inc:*	octuplae est maior denominatione . . . [LXXXVIII-32]
72'		*Expl:*	. . . removeatur 8 ad 6 remanet sexquioctava 9 ad 8. Finis.

At least three scribes took part in the copying of the text. The hand of the first, from the beginning to the bottom of f. 30' and from f. 51 to the end, is characterized by a rather shaded letter and by the use of a larger format than that of the second, whose work is responsible for the rest of the manuscript. This latter scribe writes in a much smaller hand and often decorates the bottom and top of his page by the extension of the lenghths of the "l" and "s" well into the margin. The rubrics are in still a third hand,

[57] These blank folios were not in the microfilms from which we have worked. To account for the foliation, however, one must assume that they must either be there or have been there at one time.

which is much rougher and more careless than that of either of the other two. A fourth scribe may have been employed for the music but the subscriptions to the various examples are in the hand of the rubricator, suggesting that he may have also been responsible for both.

The text shows little evidence of correction after the completion of the task. There are no marginalia, and the only emendations are those which were made in the actual course of the copying. There are some careless errors that seem to have escaped the scribes completely. Generally R_3 is not accurate and shows evidence of haste and lack of careful attention to the task.

The abbreviations are those generally employed in all the manuscripts of the *Declaratio*. In spellings there is the typical confusion between "t" and "c" and between "s" and "x". In many cases the line written above the vowel to indicate the addition of an "n" or "m" has been replaced by a simple point. Corrections have been made by crossing through the mistake.

F Florence, Magliabecchiana, XIX, 36.
Folio, 100 ff., parchment.

Literature: Gaspari, Gaetano. *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna.* Bologna, 1890. Vol. I, p. 262.
Haberl, F. X. „Bio-bibliographische Notizen . . ." in *KMJ*, X (1895), p. 48.

The history of this manuscript, like that of most of the musical manusripts in this particular collection, is obscure. Nothing of a descriptive nature has yet been published about it, and all that can be stated is that it was a part of the Magliabecchiana collection in the eighteenth century. Careful inspection of the manuscript itself gives no further clues to its earlier history, for the only indications of ownership are monograms stamped in the margins, all of which appertain to the Magliabecchiana. Thus the problems of dating and provenience must depend upon internal evidence and on paleographical details.

The manuscript is incomplete as it now stands, for, although there is no break in continuity, the last folios begin a treatise which is not complete. From the appearance of the verso of the final folio the codex at one time contained more folios than it does now. It is, of course, impossible to determine how many there were.

Only one complete foliation can be seen, in the upper right corner of each recto and coinciding in all details with the present format of the manuscript. Certain folios, however, bear other numbers, for f. 58 carries in the upper right corner the figure 118, f. 60 has 119, and f. 67 133. These three numbers are not all in the same hand, the number 118 being of a decidedly different cast.

Whatever may have been the appearance of the original manuscript,

there are now in addition to Book I of the *Declaratio* some seven other treatises or fragments thereof, the last breaking off at the end of the codex. The arrangement of these treatises is:

ff. 1	*Inc:*	Potentiarum anime nobilissima esse noscitur intelectiva potentia ... [*Declaratio,* Book I]
73'	*Expl:*	... Ego autem in medio vestrum sum qui ministrat. (*cum notis*) *Tabulum proportionum.*
74	*Inc:*	Reverendo in Christo ... Io sono obligato a la V. p. gradamente per che non e cosa ... [Unpublished][58]
78	*Expl:*	... alchuna volta Vicario secundo li diversi officii che ha: Hec octobi carmelita. *Tabulum proportionum.*
78	*Inc:*	Incipit ars plane musice Iohannis Octobi, c. 1. Regule monochordi sunt xxii que F ut subgravis ... [Unpublished]
81	*Expl:*	... quia in septima specie diapason que omnia patent in exemplis suis. Multa omito [*sic*] que habentur in aliis opusculis a diversis doctoribus compositis.
81'	*Inc:*	Dialogus Iohannis Octobi anglici in arte musica. Iohannes Octobus cuidam suo coetaneo D. Nos te nostrum carmen facile intellexisse fatemur ... [Cf. Seay, "The Dialogus ....", *JAMS,* 1955]
83'	*Expl:*	... per multas orbis terrarum partes vulgatum uti. Valet. Finis.
84	*Inc:*	Caeleopea legale reducta in brevita per Maestro gioanni anglico octobi carmelitta ... Le parte della musica melliflua sono 4 ... [Cf. Coussemaker, *Traités inédits sur la musique du moyen-âge* (Lille, 1867), pp. 295 ff.]
92	*Expl:*	(*Exempla cum notis*) et sic de aliis consonantiis.
92	*Inc:*	In nomine trinitatis incipit migrologus [*sic*] domini Guidonis aretini brevis sermo in musica ... [Cf. *GS,* II, pp. 1-24]
98'	*Expl:*	... Ipso doctores semper humanas tenebras inlustrante eius summa sapientia per cuncta viget secula. Amen.
98'	*Inc:*	Incipit liber tertius supradicti guidonis carmina. Gliscunt corda hominum monita meis ... [Cf. *GS,* II, p. 25]
98'	*Expl:*	... Ordine qui dixi me primo carmina scripsisti.
98'	*Inc:*	Quid est musica? M. Veraciter canendi scientiam et facilis ... [Cf. *GS,* I, pp. 252-263]
100'	*Expl:*	... in C Benedicta filia; in D Sit nomen Domini (*cum notis*). *Tabulum intervallorum.*

The entire codex is the product of two scribes, one copying the text proper of the treatises, the other inserting the various examples and the explanations appended thereto in spaces left blank for such purposes. This codex is not a binding together of many different manuscripts but is an uninterrupted series of several in one volume. The continuity of the copying

[58] Wolf, in his version of the *Musica Practica* of Bartolomeo Ramis, p. 41n., mentions the existence of this treatise in this manuscript but draws his reference from *CS,* III, p. xxxii, without reading the whole passage. Coussemaker has made it quite clear that the treatise was written in Italian, but Wolf cites it, using Coussemaker's Latin designation as though it were the actual title.

is quite evident in the way one treatise follows upon another, no blank spaces being left between the end of one and the beginning of the next.

Paleographically, the manuscript is Italian and from the late fifteenth century. Internal evidence confirms this judgment. Three of the treatises contained within the codex, all by Hothby, the *Epistola* (ff. 74-78), the *Dialogus* (ff. 81'-83') and the *Calliopea legale* (ff. 84-92), are concerned with rebuttal of various theories advanced by Bartolomeo Ramis. While Hothby may have become acquainted with Ramis' viewpoints as early as 1472, the date of the latter's arrival in Italy, general dissemination of these views did not take place until 1482, with the publication of Bartholomeo's *Musica Practica* at Bologna in that year. Hothby's treatises must have been written sometime within this decade or shortly thereafter for he left Italy in 1486 for England, where he died in 1487. Thus we may say with surety that the codex, because of its contents, can have been compiled no earlier than 1472. Since, as we shall see, the manuscript is presumably the product of a student circle about Hothby, it was probably prepared before 1486, the date of Hothby's departure from Lucca, where he had been teaching.

The position of *F* is outside the text tradition. From collation of the text of *F* with that of the other five manuscripts we find that the copyist did not merely write down what he saw in his source, but revised and corrected in accordance with his own views and attitudes. While this is not particularly noticeable in the text of the early part of the treatise where Ugolino is discussing philosophical matters, it becomes immediately obvious when the subject turns to technical affairs.

The scribe of *F* does not indicate pitch levels as does Ugolino by the use of "primum", "secundum" or "tertium", but prefers the words, "grave", "acutum" and "superacutum". Accordingly whenever he encounters the one terminology, he either changes it or adds his own to that of Ugolino.

The reviser does not stop with a simple reworking of terminology. He also adds many short phrases of further explanation or of description, synonyms and comparisons in the style of a gloss, but without the marginal character of the gloss proper. In many cases long sections of text are replaced by charts embodying the same information, but re-expressing that information graphically.

The section of Book I dealing with the classification of various plainchants into the various modes has been completely changed, generally in the direction of simplification. There are not as many "initia" in each mode in the version given by *F* as there are in the other manuscripts, and many of the plainchants are classified under different headings.

Some notion of the variation between *F* and the critically established text may be found in the appended parallel versions of the opening of Chapter LXVII of Book I.

F

Secunda differentia huius tropi autentici qui prothus nominatur ut reliquae primae differentiae in A acutum oriens et in G grave dicitur colocari vel terminari, ut patet inferius in demonstratione eius, quae ortum suum et initium ex duobus litteris, scilicet, C et G gravibus, habere habere dignoscitur ut:

[Example I-77

Ex C primo grave haec differentia secunda sumit originem a quo tonum habens intensum ad D grave ab eo uno diapente intervallo ad A acutum progrediens ad B prima nona attingit, id est, ad fa ♮ mi acutum, ut patet in Dies domini et hiis simul inferius posisitae [*sic*].

Text

Secunda differentia huius primi autentici tropi qui prothus nominatur, ut reliquae differentiae in A primo oriens in primo G dicitur terminari, ut patet inferius in demonstratione eius, quae ortum suum et initium ex quatuor primis litteris, scilicet, C, D, F, G primis habere dignoscitur, ut hic:

[Example I-77

Ex C primo haec differentia secunda sumit originem, a quo tonum habens intensum ad D ab eo uno diapente intervallo ad secundum A progrediens B secundum attingit, ut patet in Dies domini, et ceteris subsequentibus.

It seems especially significant that, of the eight treatises included in our manuscript, four are by Hothby, and of the four, only one, *La Calliopea legale,* is well represented in other sources. With such an emphasis on the output of one writer, it seems logical to presume that this manuscript is a product of close contact with Hothby, the type of contact usually associated with a surrounding circle of students. If such a conclusion be true, then it is possible to suggest that the revision of Book I of the *Declaratio* is due to Hothby himself.

First of all, Ugolino's treatise is the only one of the eight contained in the codex which treats of philosophical matters. All the other seven are devoted to purely practical subjects, emphasizing the place of the technical in music. It is therefore significant that the only portions of the *Declaratio* which are not changed are precisely those which do not deal with the practical, suggesting that these portions are of comparatively minor importance to the rewriter.

Secondly, Hothby's treatise on plainchant (ff. 78'-81') does not duplicate that of Ugolino's Book I except in a minor way. Hothby's discussion is shorter and much more like a précis than a full-fledged treatise, giving simple definitions and statements without philiosophical excursions. Hothby includes certain matters which Ugolino does not discuss in his Book I, but in a subsequent part of the *Declaratio,* portions not in this manuscript. Definitions of notational forms such as the virgula and the ligature, explanations of the comma and the diesis, the use of the Guidonian hand in solmization, consonance and dissonance, all these are discussed by Hothby.

Evidently his treatise has been written to fill in those gaps which he felt to exist in the first book of the *Declaratio*.

Comparison of the terminological changes made in Ugolino's Book I and the nomenclature used by Hothby shows that the changes made in the *Declaratio* are carried out in the interest of uniformity. Where Ugolino originally used certain terms that were changed to others, these latter correspond with those of Hothby's treatise in all details. The terminology of both treatises is, in *F*, exactly the same.

Finally, the changes made are all in the nature of clarifications for teaching purposes. The emphasis upon the technical implies the employment of the collection as a source of instructional material. With the preponderance of treatises by Hothby, it seems obvious that Ugolino's work has been revised for use within classes conducted by Hothby himself.

The Interrelationships of the Manuscripts

From the collation of our five major manuscripts, it is evident that no one of them is the original. Four of the codices, *L*, *O*, R_2 and R_3, are incomplete, all lacking one or more books of the *Declaratio*. Nor can R_1, though complete, be the original for it contains too many mistakes in the text and omits too many passages found in other manuscripts.

In tracing the interrelationships of these five manuscripts the greatest source of difficulty has been the lack of common ground upon which to compare all five at one time. The table below shows the absence of common material in our five sources.

Manuscript	*Contents*
L	Book I (inc.), Books IV and V, the treatise on the monochord.
O	Book I
R_1	Complete
R_2	Books I through IV, Book V (one chap.)
R_3	Book II, Book III (inc.), Book IV

Evidently, there is no one portion of the treatise which is contained in all five manuscripts. In tabular form this situation can be seen as:

Book I	*L* (Inc.), *O*, R_1, R_2
Book II	R_1, R_2, R_3
Book III	R_1, R_2, R_3 (Inc.)
Book IV	*L*, R_1, R_2, R_3
Book V	*L*, R_1, R_2 (one chap.)
Tract. Mono.	*L*, R_1

Collation of R_1 and R_2 shows that both were copied at different times from the same source. However, R_2 is not as careful a copy as R_1, since many of the errors of repetition which existed in their common model were

carried over into R_2 while the editor of R_1 noticed most of them and made the proper corrections. As an example, in Book IV-III-3, the original source contained "inaequale est", which was copied into the main body of the text by both R_1 and R_2, but which was seen as an error by the emendator of R_1 and marked to be omitted.

In addition to the inclusion of errors inherent to the hypothetical source manuscript of this pair, certain specific passages referring back to that manuscript exist in both R_1 and R_2. An example of such a passage is that in Book I-XVII-22, which reads, ". . . a tergo demonstrare videntur" in both R_1 and R_2. This direction holds good for R_1 but is completely nonsensical for R_2, since it appears in the middle of a verso (f. 13'), with the appropriate examples appearing on the facing recto.

A manuscript different from that employed for the R_1 - R_2 group was the source of L. There are many passages in L which are not found in either R_1 or R_2, passages which are essential to the meaning of the sections involved. As an example see Book IV-LXXXVI-13/15, where L has several readings which are omitted by the R_1 - R_2 manuscripts.

This section also shows the relationship of R_3 to L for R_3 includes the same passage as those given by L, but not appearing in R_1 or R_2. Nevertheless the position of R_3 is difficult to ascertain exactly since the text itself has been carelessly copied. There are many errors in R_3 which cannot be traced back to its source, for they are obvious grammatical errors brought about by lack of close attention to the model. Other errors which are peculiar to R_3 are due to misunderstandings, e.g., the incomprehension of the meaning of an abbreviation, as for example the substitution of the prefix "prae" for "pro" or the reverse, or of words, such as the substitution of "servatim" for "seriatim" or vice versa.

By inspection of the variants in Book I we see that O stands apart from R_1 and R_2, and that in readings where there is disagreement between the R_1 - R_2 group on the one hand and L on the other, O falls with the readings of L rather than with those of R_1 - R_2. Naturally enough, O has many errors of its own, particularly those of word order and of phrase omission here and there. In such crucial passage as in Book I-XIII-7, however, the omission in both R_1 and R_2 is found in both L and O, suggesting that the original source of these latter two manuscripts may be the same, or if not, from the same general family group. In view of the lack of extensive congruence this can only remain hypothetical.

In view of the chaotic condition of F it cannot be stated with final assurance what branch of the text tradition furnished its basic source. It seems highly probable, however, that it may have been copied from R_1, for reference to Book I-LXI-4 shows that the passage, "Eorum perfectio quae est ex forma", which appears in R_1 but has marked "vacat" there, also

appears in F. This passage is not a part of the text of R_2, indicating that it was not a part of the common source from which both R_1 and R_2 were taken, but an error peculiar to R_1 only. R_1 is the only possible source for the passage as we have it in F, suggesting that F is a rewriting of the first book of the treatise, using R_1 as the original source, with or without intermediary manuscripts.

All of the relationships discussed above may be seen in the appended genealogical tree. Here Ugolino's autograph text is represented by X, with the two sources of the various manuscript groups labeled as Y and Z. None of these three is presently available.

The Declaratio and Its Contents

On the basis of factual content, Pietzsch has classified the *Declaratio* as "... most easily comparable to the 'Speculum' in range and meaning ..." [59]. He goes on to state that it is designed for teaching purposes, to present that material "... knowledge of which was necessary for a complete understanding of the music at his time ...". The various *proemia,* although stressed by Ugolino as of the highest importance, are not absolutely neccessary, according to Pietzsch, for they do not serve as the basis on which the treatise is constructed. An emphasis on the practical is adduced by Pietzsch, not only by the contents of the treatise itself, but also on the evidence of the compositions preserved in R_1, suggesting to him that Ugolino is the first of the long line of theorist-composers that includes Tinctoris, Gafori and others [60].

But is this really Ugolino's own idea or that of Pietzsch? Does Ugolino exalt the place of the practical and is he merely attempting to acquaint the reader with the practices of his own time and the knowledge necessary to understand them?

The key to the plan of Ugolino lies in the full comprehension of the opening sentences of the *Declaratio,* which read: "The noblest of the powers of the soul is known to be the intellective power ... If the soul is

[59] Pietzsch, *op. cit.,* p. 119.

[60] It seems significant that Pietzsch has failed to give even one quotation from Book V and that he has made the statement that the various *proemia* to each book are written, „.... ohne in innerer Beziehung zueinander zu stehen." *Op. cit.,* p. 120.

ruled by reason, it comprehends God by the operation of the intellect and benefits the will" [61].

This atribute of reason is the distinguishing factor between men and beasts [62]. With the help of reason man can differentiate between the true and the false, for the senses can only perceive, not judge [63]. The basic purpose of man is to learn to judge by the intellect which has been given to him by God to know Him; the senses are given to man so that they may serve his reason [64]. The senses are common to both men and beasts and one cannot live righteously by them alone [65].

Music, then, is necessary as a study, for through it one may see with the reason what is perceived by the hearing faculty and may understand the numerical relations underlying the phenomenon of sound [66]. He who knows will therefore not be led astray by the mere sensory impression but will acquire the truth of music [67]. The truth of music lies in the "musica caelestis", the music of heaven, which is the beginning of all music and the foundation of all nature. "Musica caelestis" includes all of the classifications of music outlined by Boethius, i.e., "musica mundana", "musica humana" and "musica instrumentalis". According to Ugolino, "musica mundana" is seen particularly in the movement of the heavenly orbits, the connection of the elements and the changes in seasons. It receives its musical proportions through "musica caelestis", the highest form of music [68].

[61] "Potentiarum animae nobilissima esse noscitur intellectiva potentia....", I-Pro-1. „Ratione si regitur anima, Deum intellectus operatione comprehendit et fruitur voluntate," I-Pro-4.

[62] "Ipsa rerum naturas creatarum omnium diffinimus atque cognoscimus, cum qua separatis similis efficimur creaturis, sine qua beluis comparamur." I-Pro-8.

[63] "....siquid ei ad sensum pertinens verum vel falsum proponitur, id ipsius virtute potentiae iudicamus." I-Pro-15.

[64] "Intellectui autem, cuius est sine corporali organo agere, cum animae potentia sit a Deo immediate creatae ut eum absque materiali sensibili comprehendere possit, cuius similitudinem gerit, operatione propria intelligibile obiectum sine organo corporali cognoscit." I-Pro-17. "....ad potentias animae haec sunt organa ordinata, ut animae operationibus famulentur." I-Pro-18.

[65] "Intelligendo eius operationes quae hominis propriae dicuntur efficiat quae in recte vivere ac bene operari consistunt et non sensus, qui non quae hominis sed quae cum brutis communes sunt concernit." I-Pro-23.

[66] "Sed quod aggredi cupimus sub compendio musicum opus, sub ea tantum dictorum parte sensibilium capitur quae ad relatum ad numeros quae musica nuncupatur, sonum refertur, de qua praessens speculatio compendiosa quaeritur." I-Pro-20.

[67] "Tunc etenim non convertetur ad fabulas sed, Deo propitio, musicae veritatem acquiret." I-Pro-24.

[68] "Ecce caelestis musica omnis mundanae principium, omnis humanae ac instrumentalis initium et origo a qua omnium melodiarum proportio, omnium consonantiarum coniunctio, omnis vocum concordia, omnium, si dici potest, gravium et

Since the objective of speculative music is the comprehension of "musica caelestis", it follows that speculation and ethics are inseparable [69]. All ages are equally affected and the beauty of correct proportion in sound is a delight to the soul of all men [70].

Music evidently has two approaches, the one to the mind through the study of music in terms of reason, the other to the senses by performance. He who is a musician in the full sense of the word has command of both [71]. Yet music is not an aim within itself for it is subordinate in turn to natural philosophy [72].

The true purposes of music therefore are not the mere performance of music for the delight of the senses, although such physical acts are the first step. Its real aim is the liberation of the reason from the domination of the senses, firmly establishing music as a liberal science, one delighting the mind [73]. The beauty of music cannot be judged except by one who knows music. To know music is to understand its causes [74]. The understanding of

acutarum symphoniarum suavis et uniformis mixtio, omnium ex uniformi voluntate per arsyn et thesyn, id est, per maiorem et minorem unius laudationis intellectionem, eadem coaptatio, summa unius ad alterum delectatio, ibi nulla diaphoniae disparitas, nulla duritiei asperitas, nulla dulcissimae illius suavitatis inaequalitas, nulla intellectualium vocum illarum disproportio, nulla inordinata distantia per arsyn et thesyn, id est, per mentis elevationem et depositionem, omnium est caelestis musicae ad ipsius conditoris laudationem similitudinis, eadem identitas, ipsa est musicarum altissima inferioribus, superna distributa virtute. Nam musica mundana, quae maxime in ipsorum caelorum motibus vel elementorum connexione seu temporum varietate conspicitur, in suo silenti velocique cursu revolutis caelorum corporibus quam resonantem generat melodiam, ex ea caelesti recipit participatam, cuius dulcissimae suavitatis immensitas, etsi ad nostros non ducitur auditus quod excellentia sensus non partitur, ab ipsa tamen veloci caelorum machina tam grande rato modulationis ordine non potest absistere." I-I-3/4.

[69] "Ipsa namque speculationi et moralitati est coniuncta quia nihil est tam proprium humanitati quam dulcibus sonis remitti et contrariis sonis astringi." I-I-21.

[70] "In nobismet ipsis bene coniunctis convenienterque coaptatis delectamur et hoc ex eo quod in sonis recta convenientique proportione coniunctum est excipimus . . . ." I-I-25.

[71] "Sed musica est habitus primus qui existens in mente musici dirigit eum ad speculandum scibilia musicae quod spectat ad musicam speculativam. Est etiam habitus secundus existens in mente musici dirigens eum ad musicalia operari, quod spectat ad musicam praticam secundum quos habitus quis dicitur musicus, sicut per habitum philosophiae quis dicitur philosophus et per habitum geometriae quis dicitur geometra." I-II-9/10.

[72] "Sed musica subalternatur philosophiae naturali sumendo philosophiam in communi . . . ." I-II-16.

[73] "In musica igitur ut praefertur erudiantur iuvenes quae omni referta delectatione intellectum perficiet, et cum sit libera ad eos efficiendos liberos addiciet incrementum." II-Pro-23.

[74] "De musica inquam nullus recte iudicare potest nisi qui eam novit, et eam ille novit qui eius causas novit. Sine causarum igitur cognitione rectum de musica iudicium haberi non potest." III-Pro-4/5.

causes is the path to true delight in which both ethics and music come together, one reinforcing the other [75]. One cannot be merely an auditor or a spectator, for such a person is useless in music [76].

The first causes of all music, be they "caelestis" or its subordinates, "musica mundana", "humana" or "instrumentalis", lie in proportion and mathematical ratio, demonstrable not only in number but also in sound. "Proportion perfects those things which are joined together in musical concord" [77]. Without proportion consonance has no cause and without consonance there is no music. Thus proportion is the basis of all music and the true object of speculative music is the study of those proportions, which may be seen best in arithmetic [78].

Speculative music, the ultimate goal of the true musician, stands far above practical music, for the speculative musician strives for the truth on an absolute scale while the practical musician, misled by his senses, seeks only a form of truth which coincides with his own physical appetites [79]. The contemplation of truth stands superior to the physical and sensual [80].

Since the end of the study of music is speculation, what is the path by which it may be attained? In this Ugolino is purely Aristotelian, for, as he says:

> "But, according to what Aristotle says in the first book of the 'Physics', there is an inborn path in us from those things which are more known and more certain to us into the more unknown and more uncertain and from generalities into specifics. We are taught that in acquiring knowledge and in learning we ought to proceed from those things which are more known by us to those things which are less known to us, for this is the natural order of learning, so that through the cognition of the known we may come into the conception of the unknown, and thus from the facts known by us we may arrive at the facts of nature . . . Also,

[75] "In recta ergo delectatione conveniunt moralis et musica, quoniam ex ea delectatione recta ad morum honestatem est conferens ipsa musica." III-Pro-17.

[76] "Hic vero huius disciplinae est spectator inutilis." III-Pro-56.

[77] ". . . . proportio perficit quae [musicali] concordia copulantur." IV-Pro-6.

[78] ". . . . posterior est igitur musica ipsa arithmetica quae ad omnis musicae partis speculationem permaxime conspicitur necessaria, eius est enim numeros demonstrare, proportiones edicere, quae partes musicae disciplinae penitus antecedunt, sine quibus musica minime probatur existere." IV-I-11.

[79] "Pratica autem intellectus operatio non est ipsius veri simpliciter absoluta contemplatio, sed ipsum verum confesse se habens ad appetitum rectum, id est, verum vel veritas concorditer se habens ad appetitum rectum, et sic patet quod verum absolute est obiectum intellectus speculativi, sed verum concorditer se habens ad appetitum rectum est obiectum intellectus pratici." V-Pro-14.

[80] "Intellectus igitur speculativi est veritatem cognoscere quam cognitam pratici est ad opus ordinare, et sic finis speculativi est veri contemplatio, sed pratici ipsa operatio. Secundum igitur rationem hanc speculativa operatio tamquam excellentior praticam antecedit operationem et theorica praticam disciplinam." V-Pro-18/19.

> whoever knows something generally knows it indistinctly, but then his knowledge is clarified whenever some one of those things which are contained potentially in general is learned by specific application. For whoever knows something as an animal does not know it rationally except in a potentiality, for it is the first stage to know something in a potentiality than in specific application. And here, following this sequence of Aristotle, we have begun this work from the more known, that is, from the practice of plainchant, of melodic music, and of measured music, just as it exists most fully in the first three books, for the conception of this practice is more known to us than speculation; from the conception of this [practice] we are led speculatively into a perfect conception." [81]

Ugolino thus begins with the study of plainchant, since it is the simplest method to describe and define the elemental relation of one tone to another. No demonstration in the practical sense is possible since the monophonic character of plainchant merely allows the presentation of intervals as successive tones. Only by combination of two tones simultaneously in counterpoint can the reason learn to recognize aurally the various proportions which comprise consonance and dissonance [82]. A study of simple counterpoint is thus a logical continuation of the previous book.

"The more a thing is divided into many parts, the more is known about its principles and causes" [83]. Thus mensural music may be considered

[81] "Sed secundum quod dicit Aristoteles primo physicorum innata est nobis via ex notioribus et certioribus nobis in innotiora et in incertiora et ab universalibus in singularia. Docemur quod in cognoscendo et discendo debemus procedere ab his quae sunt nobis magis nota ad ea quae sunt nobis minus nota, hic enim discendi naturalis est ordo, ut per notorum cognitionem in ignotorum deveniatur notitiam, et sic a nobis notis venitur in nota naturae .... Qui autem scit aliquid in universali scit illud indistincte, tunc autem distinguitur eius cognitio quando unumquodque eorum quae continentur potentialiter in universali actu cognoscitur. Qui enim scit animal non scit rationale nisi in potentia, prius enim est scire aliquid in potentia quam in actu, et ideo hunc Aristotelis ordinem sequentes a magis notis cepimus hoc opus, scilicet, a pratica musicae planae, musicae melodiatae, et musicae mensuratae, sicut in primis tribus libris plenissime constat, cuius praticae notitia magis est nobis speculatione nota, ex cuius cognitione in eius speculative ducimur perfectam notitiam." V-Pro-20/21.

[82] "Haec quidem pars musicae nomine dicitur contrapunctus, in eo namque consonantiarum dissonantiarumque vim plene sensibili organo auditus apprehendimus et eam ex inde intellectui praesentatam ipsius ratione iudicamus quod nudae musicae virtute nequimus. Nam in nuda seu plana musica quid sit diatesseron vel diapente, quid diapason, quid cetera diffinitive seu descriptive cognoscimus, sed quid consonum vel dissonum in consonantiae acumine et gravitate distantis ratione constet penitus ignoramus. Haec autem profecto huiusmodi melodiatae musicae vi cum vox in acuto in gravi voci respondet, tum proportionum ratione, tum auditus iudicio, si consona sint vel dissona penitus iudicamus." II-I-4/6.

[83] ".... quanto magis res plures in partes dividitur, tanto magis de eius principiis et causis cognoscitur." III-Pro-57.

a division of what has gone before. Since number is the root of all things, and number is seen in the proportions of measured music as well as in the proportions of the tones themselves and the intervals made by the combination of two tones, it follows that Book III is a discussion of measured music. Measured music, while still primarily practical in nature, is not completely so for it holds a middle path between the practical and the speculative. Not only can it be learned by the practitioner without the employment of reason, but it may also be explained and elaborated upon by the speculator [84].

The transition from the purely practical to the purely speculative is, in Ugolino's treatment, a gradual process. Book IV of the treatise is not primarily speculative, for he deals here with the mathematical proportions and ratios of the material discussed in the first three books, defining those relationships which have been demonstrated in sound in terms of number. The discussion of the interrelationships of these proportions is postponed until Book V, since Ugolino considers such a treatment as purely speculative and outside the announced scope of Book IV [85].

The keystone of the treatise is Book V, for here the final goal, speculation, is reached. Ugolino now treats music philosophically and mathematically in a complete divorce from sound as a sensory experience. The question of the true subject of music is discussed, with opinions and arguments derived from numerous sources on all sides of the question. This is followed by a series of chapters on the relationships of intervals one to the other, together with refutations of opinions advanced by other theorists, all Greek.

Although such relationships and proportions are comprehended by the intellect, it is fitting that they also be made understandable to the senses through a concrete medium [86]. Therefore the work concludes with a short treatise on the method of demonstrating on the monochord what has been shown in the concluding full book in the speculative manner.

[84] "Ipse enim theoricus modum, tempus et prolationem, alterationem, imperfectionem et perfectionem, et cetera, via speculationis intelligit et demonstrat quae praticus solum exercitio suo pronuntiat." III-Pro*Jo-17.

[85] "Sed cum in tertio libro de ea musicae parte pratica quae mensurabilis est explanationem fecerimus, quae profecto tota in proportione consistit, tota circa proportiones versatur cumque ad ipsius musicae praticae ac speculativae intellectionem sit ipsarum necessaria proportionum cognitio, decrevimus, domino concedente, librum musicalium duntaxat proportionum edicere, quo diatesseron, diapente, diapason aliarumque consonantium et dissonantium coniunctionum musicalium in suis proportionibus, ac etiam ipsius cantus mensurati et totius ad totum vel totius ad partem vel partes et partium inter se proportionabilium plena habeatur cognitio." IV-Pro-10.

[86] "Valde enim perutilis est demonstratio, in qua intellectum cuius est veritas sensus concomitatur apprehensio." M-I-3.

In view of its approach to the whole field of music as a series of steps upward toward the speculative, Ugolino's work cannot be taken as an example of the medieval *speculum* as Pietzsch has done. Its purpose is not one of simple introduction to material necessary for an understanding of the music of his own time, as Pietzsch has claimed; Ugolino's aim is, rather, the presentation of the material needed in going through one phase of learning toward the eventual goal of philosophy.

With its subordination of practical music to the speculative within the framework of the *quadrivium,* the treatise as a whole is far closer to the philosophical *protreptikos,* as exemplified in the *Musica* of Boethius. All of the elements known to belong to a *protreptikos* are included by Ugolino, although its length is exceptional for this form.

Since the treatise is an example of the *protreptikos* and is oriented toward philosophy, it is not surprising to note that the principal authorities quoted throughout the whole of the treatise are Aristotle and Boethius. The basic plan of the work is, as we have seen, derived from Aristotle, while the sections devoted to speculative music and the various definitions of musical material are based on Boethius, much in the manner of a commentary. The frequent quotations from Aristotle are excerpted from practically all of that philosopher's works, the *Politics,* the *Physics* and the *Ethics,* among others. Those from Boethius are principally from the *Musica,* but there are several from the *Arithmetica.*

The other names quoted may be roughly divided into three classes: Greek philosophers, medieval philosophers and medieval musicians. Names quoted of the first group, the Greek philosophers, include such men as Architas, Ptolomy, Pythagoras, Aristoxenus, Philolaus and Plato. Comparison, however, shows that Ugolino is not quoting directly from any of them, but is taking their views and opinions as they were expressed in the writings of his two principal authorities, Aristotle and Boethius. His knowledge of these Greek philosophers is second-hand.

The names of some medieval writers of philosophical or mathematical treatises are also seen here and there, although with nothing like the frequency or authority of Aristotle or Boethius. Ugolino quotes such men as Thomas Barduadin (Bradwardine?), Albert of Saxony and Nicolas Cresin merely to refute them by citing Campanus, who is named only as a commentator on Euclid. Jordanus is also named, but simply as the establisher of a rule for the multiplication of proportions. The only medieval thinker given any real place is Petrus Hispanus, who is more generally known as Pope John XXI. Even here the quotations are but few in number, and are from his *Summulae.*

Only two medieval musicians, Jean de Muris and Guillaume de Machault, are specifically named by Ugolino. We have already noted the

glossing of de Muris' treatise on mensural music as Book III of the *Declaratio*; Since Machault is mentioned in the foundation material of de Muris, it is no surprise that Ugolino also has some few words about him.

On the basis of the men whom Ugolino names and his treatment of the subject it is evident that his background is that of a university-trained scholar, one who has gone through the traditional course leading to philosophy, the curriculum in which music takes its place as one of the constituents of the *quadrivium* [87]. His approach is not that of the practicing musician or composer. Unlike any of his contemporaries or immediate successors he does not mention even one of the many composers or musicians whom he must have met, either in Forlì or in Ferrara. He is obviously not concerned with music as an *ars* solely, but with music as a *scientia* within a larger field.

Ugolino as a Composer

We have noted earlier that the Casanatense manuscript (R_1) contains, in addition to the complete text of the *Declaratio,* two complete compositions and the upper voice of a third, all three carrying the heading, "Idem Ugolinus". Although often referred to by such men as Baini, La Fage, Wolf and others, they have never been presented in transcription previously.

These compositions are written on five red lines, with a mixture of solid red and black notes in the first two, the third including hollow red notes as well. The first two are for two voices, and the third, although its final folio is missing, may be presumed to have also been for the same combination. The parts are arranged so that the upper, unnamed, is at the left on the verso, and the tenor at the right on the recto. In addition to the poetic text for the music proper, only in the upper voice, there are, for these two, directions for the performance of the proportional mensurations encountered. In the two preserved tenors there is but one indication of a time signature, in the fourth line of the first, bar 83 of the transcription, while the upper parts of both are crowded with proportional time signatures. The surviving portion of the third contains none.

Of the three compositions, only the first is presented completely, for it is the only one of the three in which all of the notes are decipherable. The second, while some few notes of the tenor are illegible, is presented as fully as possible, with blank measures in those places where the tenor cannot be read. Since the third composition is incomplete, with but one surviving voice, it has not been transcribed.

[87] It has been noted earlier that Gaspari, *op. cit.*, p. 262, has stated that in 1442 Ugolino is mentioned in a document of the time as ".... I. V. Doctor...."

In the transcriptions, brackets of solid lines indicate ligatures; those of dotted lines mark off units within syncopation. *Puncti divisionis* are placed above the staff in the same relative position as in the manuscript. Crosses above the notes show coloration.

The poetic text of the first composition reads:

Et videar invidorum sequi consortia
Paule cantulum veste facili claris neumis suscipe.
Si me sprevis soles contempnere fortia,
C. J. que sperimus nempe discipulorum officium assume.
Armonia dulcis cuius sonus in celo modulatur,
Non estat in hoc opere minimeque pausatur.
Sed musicalis virtus tua que versatur,
Dogmate tenui correctione fungatur.

The music for the first two lines is repeated for the second pair, suggesting the formal structure of the Ballade.

In addition to the words of the text, there are explicit directions as to the performance of the proportions to be observed in the upper part, which read:

Sub isto signo 2 ponitur prima species multiplicis.
Sub isto signo ϵ ponitur prima superparticularis.
Sub isto signo 3 ponitur secunda multiplicis.
Sub isto signo 6 ponitur secunda subsuperparticularis.
Ad circulum tenoris et contratenoris in Emiolia proferatur.
Note que sub isto signo 2 erant duces, sub isto 4 sint comites.
Que autem sub isto ϵ erant duces, sunt isto 9 sint comites.
Sed que erant sub isto 6 comites, sub isto 8 sint duces.

There is one textual error in the original, the writing of "sunt" for "sub" in line 7. In addition to the time signatures given in the text transcribed above, two others, ○ and ⊙, appear in the music itself.

The first problem is the discovery of the mensuration of the tenor, for no time signature is given. Inspection of the whole tenor shows that the only values seen are the longa, the brevis and the semibrevis. Thus the only mensural relationships are modus and tempus.

Modus is quite obviously imperfect, for the presence of a dotted longa within the first line of the tenor is a certain indicator. It is followed by another longa, and, under the normal rules, if the tempus were perfect, the longa before a longa would necessarily be perfect. There would thus be no reason for a *punctus perfectionis*. This punctus then is one of addition, indicating that the modus is imperfect.

Tempus is similarly imperfect. Bars 73/74 show the succession brevis - semibrevis - semibrevis rest - longa. This grouping is impossible in tempus perfectum, for the two semibreves between the brevis - longa cannot be made to equal a perfection. Since there are two semibreves or their equivalent, to make a perfection the second would have to be altered. It is

not a semibrevis note but a semibrevis rest, which is unalterable. The first semibrevis cannot be altered. Thus tempus can only be imperfect.

In view of the predominance of small values in the upper part as opposed to the larger ones seen in the tenor, it is almost inevitable that one assumes that the tenor has been written in augmentation, that is, longae have been substituted for breves, breves for semibreves and semibreves for minimae. Transcription proves the correctness of this hypothesis.

Thus, in the resultant transcription of this first composition each bar of the tenor is filled by a longa taken in the reduction 8 : 1, it in turn containing two breves or four semibreves. The longa is represented by a half note of transcription. There is no other change in mensuration up to bar 83, where the time signature ⊙ occurs, which must be discussed in connection with the mensuration of the upper part.

Each of the three sections of the upper part begins with a time signature which is seemingly non-proportional in character, the signatures being the ○ and the ⊙. The normal significance of the first signature, the circle, is tempus perfectum, prolatio maior. But, according to Ugolino, these symbols are not those properly employed to denote these particular mensurations. He is quite careful to point out:

> "Certain people, wanting in skill, in order to show perfection in minor modus, employ only one tail in a quadrangle instead of three, and, in order to show imperfection in minor modus, employ none. Similarly in signifying prolatio maior, instead of three points they use one and in showing prolatio minor use none. These people do not know any reason by which they do this, for a ternary number placed for the signifying of perfection is perfect, and a binary one for imperfection imperfect. Therefore these numbers contain and impart perfection and imperfection, but unity, which is a part of a number and not a number, can in no way signify perfection or imperfection. Therefore one tail, which they use instead of three, or one point signify neither perfection of the modus nor prolatio. Similarly nothing is made from nothing, therefore from a sign showing nothing no imperfection of mensuration can be signified, whose opposite these people put forward." [88]

[88] "Quidam vero ignori peritiae pro tribus in quadrangulo tractulis ad modi minoris ostendendam perfectionem, uno duntaxat utuntur tractulo et ad minoris imperfectionem modi nullo penitus utuntur. Similiter in significanda prolatione maiori pro punctis tribus uno utuntur et in minori pro duobus nullo. Hi namque nulla ratione fundati quod agunt penitus ignorant, nam numerus ternarius pro significanda perfectione positus perfectus est, et binarius pro imperfectione imperfectus. Perfectionem igitur et imperfectionem ii numeri continent et important, sed unitas quae pars numeri est et non numerus perfectionem vel imperfectionem nullatenus significare potest, ergo unus tractulus quem isti ponunt pro tribus, vel unus punctus nec modi nec prolationis significant perfectionem. Similiter ex nihilo nihil fit, igitur ex nullo signo nulla mensurae imperfectio potest significari, cuius oppositum isti ponunt." III-VI/2-40/44.

If these signs are not of mensuration, they must be of proportion. Substantiation for this inference lies in the statement that, "Ad circulum tenoris et contratenoris in Emiolia proferatur", or, "At the circle in the tenor and contratenor one must sing in hemiolia". The relationship demanded is that of sexquialtera, or 3 : 2. By a process of experimentation it has been found that two perfect breves of the upper part in the time signature ○ will be equivalent to three imperfect breves of the tenor (considering the reduced values, that one measure of the tenor embraces one imperfect breve).

The second signature of the upper voice, the ⊙, is subject to the same rule, but the relationship is not one of breves, but of semibreves, for two perfect semibreves of the upper part will equal three imperfect semibreves of the lower part.

The one change of signature in the tenor, that in bar 83, is similarly indicative of hemiolia, but the relationship is one of minimae, that is, three minimae of the new signature are equal to two of the old.

The tactus of the composition is the semibreve of the tenor (considering the reduced values, one quarter note of the transcription in the beginning, one dotted quarter after the time signature of bar 83).

Turning to the problem of the other proportions encountered in the upper voice or the contratenor, we may translate the first table as:

> "Under this sign 2 is placed the first type of multiplex proportion.
> Under this sign ⊂ is placed the first type of superparticular proportion.
> Under this sign 3 is placed the second type of multiplex proportion.
> Under this sign 6 is placed the second type of subsuperparticular proportion."

In numerical equivalents the sign 2 stands for the proportion 2 : 1, the sign ⊂ for the proportion 3 : 2, the sign 3 for the proportion 3 : 1, and finally the sign 6 for the proportion 3 : 4.

Further directions are given in the second table, which reads:

> "Note that those which were *duces* under this sign 2 are to be *comites* under this sign 4.
> Also those which were *duces* under this ⊂ are to be *comites* under this 9.
> But those which were *comites* under this 6 are to be *duces* under this 8."

The use of such terms as *duces* and *comites* may at a glance suggest the use of canonic technique in the modern sense, for such are the terms employed today. These directions, however, are based on meanings taken from Boethius, who defines and uses these words in a totally different sense [89].According to him, a proportion may exist in two forms, either with the larger number first, or with the smaller number first. If it appears in the former manner, with the large number preceding, it is in the form

[89] *Inst. Arith.*, I, 24, p. 49.

of *duces*. If the smaller number precedes, then it is in the form of *comites*. Applying these definitions to the terms given in the first table, we gain the following statement of values:

2 equals 2 : 1 (*duces*), 4 equals 1 : 2 (*comites*)
ϵ equals 4 : 3 (*duces*), 6 equals 3 : 4 (*comites*)
8 equals 4 : 3 (*duces*), 6 equals 3 : 4 (*comites*)

All of the equivalents given above apply to a relation between the upper voice and the tenor, the first number of the proportion indicating a value for the contratenor, the second a comparative value for the tenor. The following table gives the exact equivalents between the two voices.

C	T
○ 2 B	3 B[90]
⊙ 2 S	3 S
3 3 S	1 S
2 2 M	1 M
4 1 M	2 M
ϵ 3 M	2 M
9 2 M	3 M
6 3 S	4 S
8 4 S	3 S

With the establishment of the table of equivalents the problem of overall relationship between the two parts is solved, but some few problems of syncopation and interpretation within the proportional sections remain to be discussed.

Some difficulty comes with the transcription of bars 30/31, as the introduction of the three red notes tends to confuse the determination of the exact value of the black breves. If these bars, however, be compared with the corresponding bars 91/92 the notation becomes clear.

It will be noticed that the notation of the two passages in question does not correspond exactly, for the final note in the ligature in bar 30 is red and that in the corresponding position in bar 90 is black. The semibreve immediately following in bar 91 imperfects the last breve of the ligature in entirely normal manner, with the remainder of the piece falling into place quite satisfactorily. In view of the rounded nature of the composition both bars 30/31 and 32/33 will read exactly the same as in bars 90/91.

How then may one explain the variance in the writing of the ligature in bar 30 as red - black red, in bar 90 as red - black - black? If we look at the "ouvert" we find only three red notes. If this notation had been retained at the close of the composition there would have been four, which would not have added up to a perfection. As it stands, the red notes are in

[90] The values expressed for the tenor are those arrived at in terms of the augmentation. Thus these three breves would be represented in the original as three longae.

groups of three in both the "ouvert" and the end of the composition.

The "clos" if considered separately shows four red notes, but it seems that Ugolino felt that the clarity of meaning in the "ouvert" was such that there would be no necessity to rewrite the whole passage from 30 on as part of the "clos". Strictly speaking, the notation is incorrect, but its meaning is clear.

The manuscript contains an error, the omission of time signatures at bar 87. Since this passage is identical with that found in the first section of the composition (bars 27 ff.), it may be that it was considered unnecessary to indicate a return to the mensuration used on its first appearance. Since the length of the semibreve in the tenor is the same in temporal duration, the lack of signature in that part does not affect the situation greatly, other than to force alteration in one place. The contratenor cannot be fitted against this tenor with the time signature 8, but must be interpreted in the ratio denoted by the figure 3, exactly as on its first appearance.

The passage in the contratenor beginning with the time signature 9 (bars 54 ff.) produces some confusion until it is understood that the figure 9 suggests no groupings into perfections, but shows only note-values in relation to the tenor. This passage is that quoted by Johannes Wolf as an example of the use of the double-tailed note. He has erred completely in his presentation of these few bars, however, for he misread the figure 9 for a C [91].

The section beginning with bar 36 the time signature is given in a tentative transcription since there is some difficulty in determining the exact meaning of the *puncti* in bars 40 and 43. Working from consonances, the two parts can be combined up to the end of bar 45 without difficulty. At this place a correction has had to be made in the tenor, an assumption that the *punctus additionis* placed after the last note of the ligature of bars 45/46 should have been placed after the following longa. In addition the final minima in bar 47 of the contratenor has had to be altered.

The poetic text of the second composition reads:

[L]alta virtute di perfecta vita.
Cheza ciaschun che la preça fia beato.
Ogi da gli mortal poche sequita.
Perche la voglia cupida ed avara.
Insaciata e fuor dogni rasone.
Qualunque di costei che tanto cara.
Predito trova / copre. odi casone.
Tutti gli extremi suoi in sua masone
Coprir si crede quelle cohoperita
Ma seropesi / e virtu riman unita. unita.
Lalta virtute.

[91] Wolf, *GdM,* I, p. 352.

Only the first five lines of this text are presented with the music. The rest are at the bottom of the verso on which the upper part is written. Formally, the composition is a "rounded" ballata, but has only one strophe, placing it close to the French "bergerette".

As with the first composition there are directions found for the meanings of the proportional indication, here written at the conclusion of the tenor part. The portion of the manuscript containing the directions, however, has been badly blurred by the smearing of some liquid over its surface. The blurred portions were transferred to the opposite verso, giving a mirror reading. Thus it has been possible to fill in those portions of the text that were undecipherable on the recto.

These directions read:

"Canon

Ad talem semicirculum ☾ in sexquialtera proportione.
Ad talem circulum ⊙ in dupla sexquiquarta.
Ad talem circulum ○ in tripla.
Ad talem ⊙ in quadrupla sexquialtera.
Ad talem figuram 2 in dupla.
Ad talem figuram 4 in sexquitertia."

One textual error may exist, the substitution of tripla for dupla in the reference to the sign 2. In addition to the time signature noted in the above table, there are also in the upper part six places where the composer has indicated the mensuration sign ☾ .

As in the first composition no time signature is given for the tenor. Inspection shows that the principal values employed are the breve, semibreve and minima, with the longa appearing only as the final note of a section. Thus there is no modus, but one must consider tempus and prolatio.

Tempus imperfectum is suggested by the use of the many *c. o. p. binariae* between breves. Bars 3/6 have such ligatures, and when there is a syncopation, as in bars 14/15, the semibreves are written as *notae simplices*. Further, only one *punctus* appears in the whole of the tenor, in bar 28, suggesting strongly that it is a *punctus additionis* rather than a *punctus perfectionis*.

Prolatio minor is inferred from the even-numbered groups of minimae between the semibreves, as in bars 74/75, 98 and 100. This is provable only upon transcription, however, since it is possible to construe all the passages listed above in prolatio maior. Comparison with the transcribed contratenor shows that the tenor must be read in prolatio minor.

In view of the use of tempus and prolatio rather than modus and tempus as in the previous composition, augmentation is unlikely and, in fact, does not exist. Thus the bar of the tenor equals one breve of the original, reduction in the transcription being made at the ratio 4 : 1.

Turning to the upper voice, the meaning of the first signature, the semicircle (, is the customary one of tempus imperfectum. Although the prolation is minor, the correct two *puncti* within the C have been omitted, correct if Ugolino's rules as quoted earlier are valid. At its first appearance in bar 1, however, there is no need for prolation since there are no minimae, and in later passages, where prolation is necessary, the grouping of the notes suggests minor prolation rather than major.

The meanings of the other signs of mensuration are in translation:

"Rule

At such a semicircle (· in sexquialtera proportion.
At such a circle ⊙ in dupla sexquiquarta.
At such a circle ○ in triple.
At such a ⊙̇ in quadrupla sexquialtera.
At such a figure 2 in duple.
At such a figure 4 in sexquitertia."

These proportions, when given in numerical equivalents, show that at the sign (· we have the proportion 3 : 2, at the sign ⊙ the proportion 9 : 4, at the sign ○ the proportion 3 : 1, at the sign 2 the proportion 2 : 1, and finally at the sign ⊙̇ the proportion 9 : 2.

All of these time signatures may now be presented in a table showing the exact notational equivalents between the two parts. As before we use the abbreviation C for the upper voice.

	C	T	
(	1 M	1 M	[Also 1 B = 1 B, 1 S = 1 S]
(·	3 M	2 M	
⊙	9 M	4 M	
○	3 M	1 M	[Also 3 S = 1 S]
2	2 M	1 M	
4	4 M	3 M	[Also 4 S = 3 S]
⊙̇	9 M	2 M	

With such a table of equivalents the general outlines of the composition are clear. Certain sections involving syncopation show some difficulty, however, due to the ambiguity of the notation.

No comment is necessary on the transcription of the section between bars 3 and 11, although the syncopation is a long one. The meaning of the three red notes is obvious, even though they are widely separated. Similarly the use of *puncti divisionis* in bar 22 is self-evident, although some confusion might arise at first sight, in view of the possible employment of the first *punctus* as one of *additionis*. Again, the group of red notes in bars 23/31 shows syncopation.

The first passage of serious difficulty is that which falls between bars 80 and 85, for the number of red notes is large and the problem of the value

of the black notes is one that may cause some trouble. If it is remembered that a black note cannot be imperfected by a red one, all the black breves will be perfect and the notes will fall easily into place.

The same cannot be said for the immediately following section (bars 85/92). If the passage be lifted out and the perfections counted it will be noted immediately that the opening minima (the last in bar 85) is in excess. Therefore it has to be considered as completing the final perfection of the previous section, with the minima of the ⊂ equaling the semibreve of the ⊙. Thus the *punctus* appearing at the close of bar 85 is one of *divisionis*.

The following passage (bars 86/92) begins with a minima, followed by three semibreves and two minima. It is obvious that the first two semibreves must be perfect through the rule of like before like. The opening minima then stands by itself. It does not imperfect the third semibreve but has the perfection of which it is a part completed by the final two minima (bar 87) [92].

A small portion of the obliterated tenor (bars 44/49) has been supplied. Since the composition is "rounded", the few bars in question contain, in all probability, the same tenor as in bars 101/102 - 107/110.

The poetic text of the third composition reads:

[C]hi solo a si sença mi sura crede.
Ne crede chaltri vegia.
Bene cha mal suo grado in terra segia.
Tal crede sempre stare ne mai chadere.
Ferme secur parendo gli suo stato.
Che in piço hora si trova prostato.
Da piçol vento chel fa li sedere.
E chi al suo stato non sa provedere.
Or su or gui di qua di la simena.
A sostener si non trova chatena.
Per la mobilita del suo sapere.
Ma chi virtu vora ben possedere.
Alchun non tengha ciecho.
Che davedere habia ochi cio che degi[a].
Chi solo a si.

The first seven lines appear with the music, the rest at the bottom of the page. Like the second composition, it is a "ballata" but not "rounded". As before, it contains only one strophe.

There are no time signatures throughout the composition, changes in proportion being indicated by black, full red and empty red notes. Accord-

[92] "In prolatio maior a minima remaining by itself makes the perfection of its measure by being carried over to others." "In maiori autem prolatione sola remanens minima ad alias translata suae mensurae facit perfectionem." III-III/9-18.

ing to Ugolino, nine empty red notes equal six full red ones, which in turn equal four black ones [93]. Thus relations of 9 : 6 and 9 : 4 can be expressed through the relation of the various colors one to the other. Only these proportions are found here.

Certain accidentals are also of interest, for Ugolino has used an opening signature of Bb and Eb, and, elsewhere in the composition, he employs an Ab and, in one case, an A sharp, doubtless to insure the singing of an A natural rather than an expected A flat. It is unfortunate that the remaining voice (or voices) is missing, for it might well have cast some light upon the practical application of Ugolino's rules for *musica ficta.*

Inspection of these three preserved compositions of Ugolino shows him in an entirely different light from that seen in the *Declaratio.* We have noted that he looks back in his treatise to an earlier age, a time when music in its highest sense was part of the scholastic program leading to philosophy. Practical music, composition and techniques of notation, etc., held a place in that curriculum only insofar as they were the point of departure toward the eventual goal of speculation. Thus it is that the *Declaratio* restricted itself to the narrow *protreptikos,* taking up only those practical materials absolutely essential to this approach. Its aim was not that of training the composer or explaining contemporary practice, but of teaching the prospective philosopher the minimum he had to know about music.

Ugolino's achievements as a composer show that, although as a theorist his interest was not primarily in the music of his own time, he was well aware of the many new developments about him. In style, all three compositions reflect the changing scene in the first third of the fifteenth century.

Perhaps the most interesting sign of change lies in Ugolino's notation. Although the characteristic Italianate emphasis on florid melody in the upper part is quite in evidence, there is a rhythmic complexity in it which is foreign to most *trecento* music. It is obvious that Ugolino has turned away from the simple syncopations and cross-rhythms possible with the pure Italian notation. In these compositions, Ugolino shows himself as a composer well aware of the later French developments, developments usually considered under the classification, "mannered" notation. All of the complications, the extensive use of proportions even when the effect could have been produced in a simpler way, stamp Ugolino as a child of his age. He is interested in notational complexity for its own sake, not as a tool for freer musical expression.

A further indication of the transitional character of these works is the evident decline in use of the sharp as a part of the notated musical text.

[93] See the *Declaratio,* III-VI/7-29/31.

We have already noticed the presence of only one such accidental in the third composition, with the implication that, even in this one place, it has been employed to warn the performer not to lower the note rather than to raise it. There are but two sharps in the "Et videar", both before F and designed to insure that the sixth expanding to the octave is made major [94]. But no such sharps are found at any other similar places in this composition, and there are no sharps at all in the second. Accidentals seen in the second composition, "Alta virtute", are all flats and these are employed to emphasize the use of E flat, which is part of the beginning key-signature. The comparative absence of accidentals in all three gives the music a somewhat spare look, much different from that usual in most fourteenth century sources.

From the contrast in attitude of the *Declaratio* and the characteristics of Ugolino's music, we may well conclude that he is a transitional figure, standing between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The importance of music as a part of the *quadrivium* is still a basic tenet, but there are signs of increased interest in the purely practical, an awareness of the compositional novelties of the new era. Ugolino is thus a Janus-like figure, one head, the *Declaratio,* facing the past, the other, his compositions, looking forward [95].

[94] There is a faint indication of a C sharp in bar 41, but this seems incorrect, in view of the contrapuntal situation at the point.

[95] Much of the material incorporated herein was originally prepared for my dissertation, "The *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* of Ugolino of Orvieto", presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Yale University. Special appreciation is due to Mr. Leo Schrade, Head of the Music Department, Graduate School, Yale University, for his untiring assistance and encouragement. I should also like to thank Mr. Edmund T. Silk and Mr. William G. Waite, both of Yale University, and Dr. Renzo Bonvicini of Rome, all of whom have provided help in time of need.

C, pp. 679-680

Et
Si

TENOR

vi - de - ar in - - vi - - - do - -
me spre - vis so - - - les

- - - - - - - - rum se - qui con - sor - ti - a. Pau-
con-temp - nere for - ti - a. C.

le can - tu - lum ve - ste fa - ci - li claris neu - mis su -
J. que sperimus nem - pe dis - ci - pulo rum officium a -

sci - - - pe.
su - - - me.

as - - su - - me. Ar - -

SECUNDA

- - mo - - - nia dulcis cuius so - nus in ce - - lo

PARS TENORIS

mo - du - la - - tur non estat in

hoc o - - - pe - re mi - nime - - - - que pau-

*) Written:

59 sa - - tur Sed mu-si - ca - - - lis

67 virtus tu - a que

75 versa - - - tur dog - - ma - - te

83 tenui cor - rectio - - - -

[♩. = ♩ of previous]

[3] 87 ne funga - - - - - - - - - tur.

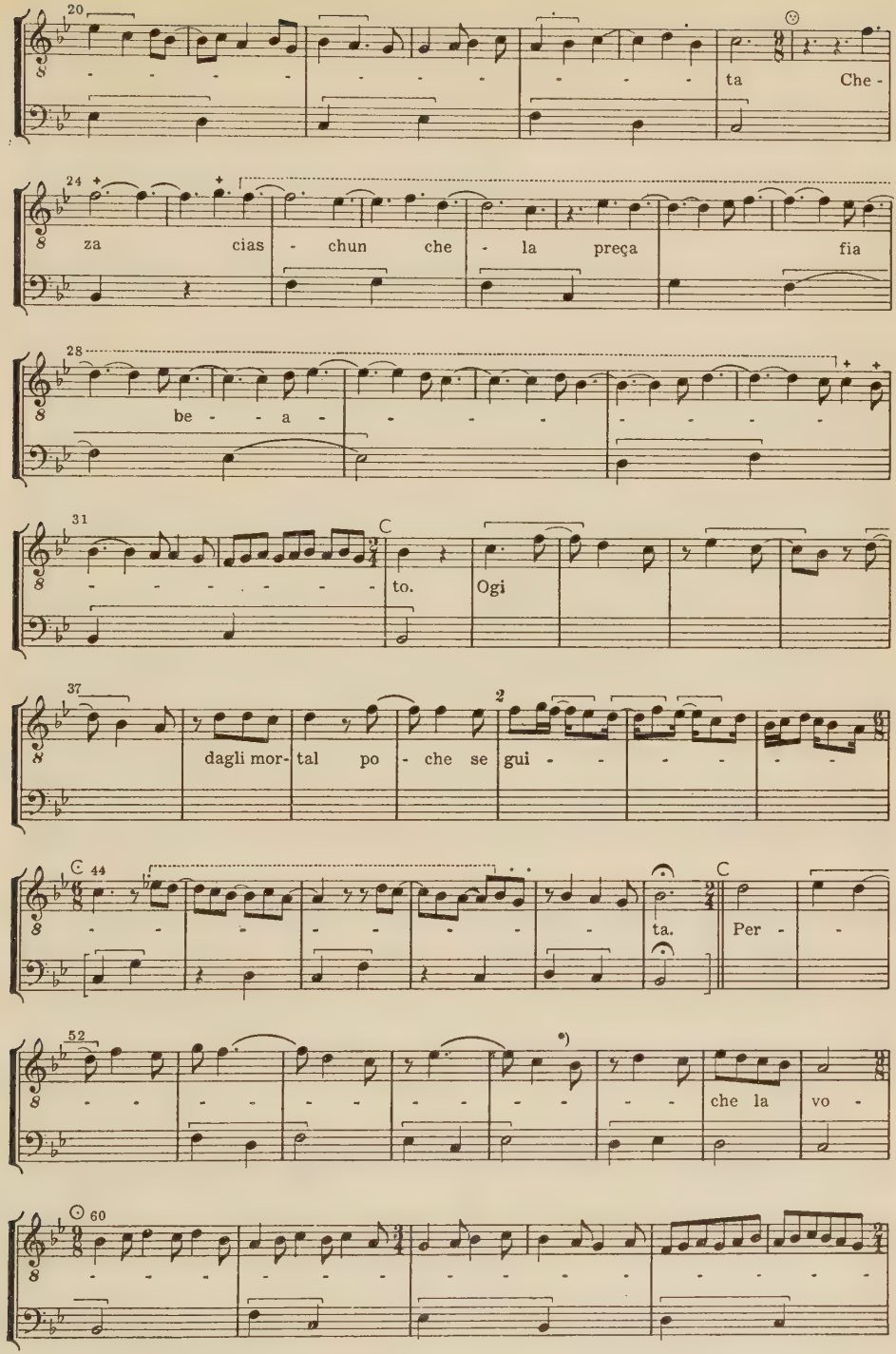
C, pp. 681-682

Al - - - ta vir - tu - - - - - - -

TENOR

- - - - - - - te di

15 perfecta vi - - - - - - - - - -


20
ta Che -
24
za cias - chun che - la preça fia
28
be - a -
31
to. Ogi
37
dagli mor- tal po - che se gui -
44
ta. Per -
52
che la vo -
60

*) Written: ♦

C 64 glia. Cu - - - - - - - - - -

72 pi - da et a - va - - - - - - - -

78 - - - ra. In sa - -

82 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ci - -

85 a - - ta e fuor do - - - gni

91 ra - - - so - - - - - - - - -

98 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

GRAZ COURT MUSICIANS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *PARNASSUS MUSICUS FERDINANDAEUS* (1615)

HELLMUT FEDERHOFER

The *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* is one of the earliest Italian anthologies of religious *concerti* for small voice-combinations. It was published in Venice in 1615 by the Graz Court Musician Giovanni Battista Bonometti and dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand in Graz. It consists of 57 motets for 1-5 voices with continuo by 32 contemporary composers, almost all of whom were Italian, Claudio Montverdi being among them. Its importance in the history of early baroque music in Austria is incontestable [1]. No fewer than nine of the composers involved were in the service of Ferdinand in Graz, their contributions comprising almost half of the collection. They were Reimundo Ballestra (4), Alessandro Bontempo (1), Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana (2), Georg Poss (2), Giovanni Priuli (4), Michelangelo Rizzio (2), Giovanni Sansoni (2), Alessandro Tadei (1), and Giovanni Valentini (5) [2]. These in turn include some of the most prominent Upper-Italian composers of the day, men who either already occupied or later were to occupy responsible positions in the Habs-

HK = Graz, Landesregierungsarchiv [= Archives of the Provincial Government], Hofkammerakt [= File of the Court Chamber], HKR = Hofkammer-Registratur [= Registry of the Court Chamber], KR = Kammer Registratur [= Registry of the Chamber].

[1] *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus in quo Musici nobilissimi, quà suavitate, quà arte prorsus admirabili, & diuina ludunt: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. Vocum. A Joanne Baptista Bonometti Bergomate Serenissimi Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae, &c. Musico congestus, eidemque Serenissimo in grati animi symbolum dicatus, & consecratus. Cum privilegio. — Venetijs, Apud Jacobum Vincentium. 1615.* G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna.* Vol. II. Bologna, 1892, p. 351, gives contents and extracts from the dedicatory preface. The only known complete set of parts of the work is to be found in the above mentioned library, and consists of 4 part-books and the "partitura". There is a microfilm copy in the Musicological Institute in the University of Graz. In the "partitura" the instrumental bass is sometimes written out with the upper voice, sometimes alone. In the former case it is entitled "Partitura", in the latter ,"Basso continuo".

[2] The figures in brackets give the number of pieces contributed.

burg court chapels in Graz, Vienna, Saverne (Alsace), and Neisse (Silesia). This anthology, along with the "Musiche" of the Graz *Hofkaplan* and tenor, Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana, which was also published in Venice, in 1613, and the motets for 2-8 voices by the Graz court organist, Heinrich Pfendner, which were printed in Graz by the court printer, Georg Widmanstetter, a year later, bears witness to the knowledge and cultivation of monody at the Court in Graz at a time when it was scarcely known at the Imperial Court. The *Kapelle* in Vienna was largely composed of Flemish and German musicians [3], and only through the occasional visits of such singers as the travelling virtuoso Francesco Rasi (a pupil of Caccini) [4], was monody to be heard there. The fact that Graz became one of the first transalpine centres for the cultivation of monody may be ascribed to several reasons. Among these were the close economic and cultural relations with Venice that arose inevitably from the geographical location of the Inner-Austrian Provinces (Styria, Karinthia and Carniola), then the fact that Italy was assuming an increasingly important role in musical developement, and last but not least, the Counter-Reformation, and particularly the zeal of the Archduke Karl II, Ferdinand's father and predecessor, had led to an early italianisation of the Graz court chapel [5]. This was disbanded on the death of Karl but when, on his succession in 1595, Ferdinand refounded it, seeing in the arts, and especially in music, an effective instrument for the "propaganda fides catholica" [6], it was natural for him to encourage artistic relations with Upper Italy, and particularly with Venice. The new Hofkapelle is first mentioned in two *Hofstaatsverzeichnisse* for the year 1596. It expanded rapidly, and musicians came from Vienna, Munich, Innsbruck and other German cities, but by far the greater number came from Upper Italy [7]. The fact that the key posts of *Elemosinar* and *Kapell-*

[3] L. v. Koechel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543-1867.* Vienna, 1892, p. 52ff; A. Smijers, "Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543-1619", in *StMw.* VI. 1919, p. 149ff.

[4] A. Einstein, "Ein Emissaer der Monodie in Deutschland: Francesco Rasi", in *Festschrift f. Johannes Wolf,* Berlin 1929, p. 31ff. After him came the virtuoso Francesco Campagnolo who, among other things, appeared before the Reichstag in Oedenburg (Sopron), in 1622. Cf. A. Einstein, "Italienische Musik u. italienische Musiker am Kaiserhof..." in *StMw.* XXI. 1934, p. 50ff.

[5] Cf. Foreword to *DTOe* Vol. 90. — "Niederlaendische u. italienische Meister d. Grazer Hofkapelle Karls II". Vienna, 1954.

[6] *Festschrift d. kunsthist. Museums in Wien.* T. 2, I. Vienna 1941-45, p. 314.

[7] The newly engaged alto, Felix Mayr, "wellicher sich von Wien hieher begeben", was accorded "Uebersidl vnd Aufzuggelt" early in 1596; *KR* 1596, Vol. 62, fol. 23 and *HK* 1596-I-27. Previously he had served in Munich, and is known to have been with the Imperial Hofkapelle of Rudolf II from 1. July, 1598 till 1600. A. Sandberger, *Beitrage z. Geschichte d. bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso.* Bd.

meister were both held by a Venetian, Pietro Antonio Bianco (ca. 1540-1611) should not be overlooked either. He was often in Venice, engaging musicians or else buying music and instruments [8]. And even if he himself was little affected by the new monody, it was certainly largely through him that distinguished musicians, born and schooled in the new musical style, came so early to the Graz court chapel. Bianco accompanied the dowager Archduchess Maria on the journey to Spain which she undertook towards the end of 1598. She too was interested in seeking suitable musicians for the court chapel of her son [9]. After Bianco's death in 1611, the predilection for Italian musicians continued.

Just how much weight was laid upon artistic ability in engaging a

3, Pt. I, Leipzig 1895, p. 221 (357a); A. Smijers, *op. cit.* VI, p. 148. Another who came from Munich was the instrumentalist, Orazio Sega, on whom the *HK*-1615-II-2 comments „dass er berait alhie vnd am Bayrischen Hof in die 42 Jar zuegebracht (habe)". He also figures in the *Hofstaatsverzeichnis* for 1619, cf. Koechel, *op. cit.* p. 129. B. A. Wallner's assumption (*Musikalische Denkmaeler d. Steinaetzkunst.* Munich, 1912, p. 446) that these were two people bearing the same name is therefore wrong. Sega was the teacher of the Graz *Hofinstrumentist* Antonio Vigasi of Verona, who was engaged ca. 1602 and died between 1620-22. He (Vega) married Lavinia Campana of Gradisca on 16th June, 1614 in Graz. Witness to the ceremony was the court dance master, Ambrosio Bontempo (Graz, Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut, church register for 1610-1615, p. 172), *HK* 1622-XI-23. From Innsbruck came the bass Johann (Hans) Faber, who had served the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (d. 1595) for 32 years. On 8th August, 1600, in spite of his years, he married Anna Eberl, the daugther of a soldier in the Graz garrison. He died however in 1608. *HK* 1598-VIII-28; *HK* 1601-III-5; *HK* 1608-I-47; *HK* 1609-I-68. This is the same Johann Faber, born in Karinthia, who is mentioned in *Eitner Q* III, p. 371, who, while still a singer in the service of Ferdinand of Tyrol, published in 1573 the Cantiones of the Lille-born composer, Michel Charles Desbuissons. The latter was a *Kapellsaenger* first in the Vienna court chapel of the Emperor Ferdinand I from 1559-1564 and later in that of his son, the already-mentioned Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. He died in Innsbruck before 1570. For details on both cf. W. Senn, *Musik u. Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck.* Innsbruck, 1954, p. 102f and 111f. The two Graz *Hofkapellverzeichnisse* of 1596 in V. Thiel, *Die inneroesterreichische Zentralverwaltung 1564-1749,* Vienna 1916, p. 192, and H. Federhofer, "Matthia Ferrabosco", in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. VII. 1953, p. 232.

[8] H. Federhofer, "Pietro Antonio Bianco und seine Vorgaenger Andreas Zweiller and Pietro Ragno an der Grazer Hofkapelle", in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 1954, p. 55 ff.

[9] Thus the Graz *Hofmusicus,* Alessandro Rosso (Rossi), in *HK* 1610-II-58, asserts that he came to Graz „aus Italia von Genua herauss, von der verwittibten Fuer. Dur. Erzherzogin Maria (d. 1608) mildseligisten angedenkens in dero nach Hispanien durchraisen, nachdeme dieselbige an meiner stimb vnd singen ainen genedigsten wolgefallen gefast durch Undterhandlung des Herrn Grafen von Portia". According to *HK* 1605-IV-81 he studied the theorbe in Rome. In a similar way, at the end of December, 1598, Salomon Ferro was engaged in Milan by Bianco as Musikus and trumpeter. He also accompanied the Archduchess on her journey through Spain. *HK* 1600-II-29.

court musician can be seen from the fact that the Archduke left certain posts unfilled for years, rather than engage someone with only a mediocre talent. Thus, following the sudden death of the court organist, Annibale Perini, at the end of 1596, his post remained unoccupied for five years, his functions being carried out in the meantime by Ruprecht Steuber (till August, 1600), and later by the Graz town organist, Georg Graf, and the court dance master, Ambrosio Bontempo [10]. As late as 1602 we find Bianco declining the services of Alberto, the son of a Bavarian court musician, Fileno Cornazzani, as organist in the Graz court chapel on the grounds that the Archduke "eines Meisters, die andern dieser profession abzurichten, vnd zv vnderweisen, vnd nicht eines Schuellers vnd LehrJungs bedoerffen" [11]. Shortly after this, however, Ferdinand obtained in Francesco Sti-

[10] H. Federhofer, "Annibale Perini", in *Die Musikforschung,* Jg. VII. 1954, p. 402ff. Georg Graf was town organist in Graz from ca. 1600 till his death in 1630. (Cf. my essay "Die Grazer Stadtmusikanten und die privilegierte Stadtmusikantenkompagnie" in the *Zeitschrift d. histor. Vereines f. Steiermark.* Jg. 42. 1951, p. 93). In *HK* 1602-V-27 we find "Schliesslich ... verehren wir Georgen Grauen seiner nun ain Jar hero so wol in der Khuerchen als Camer vertrettnen Organisten stoell halben 25 Taller ... Graz 12. May 1602". The following note on Ambrosio Bontempo is to be found in *HK* 1602-III-41: „dass er sich vndter andern in der Kirchen, da sy Ine dann selbst gesechen bey der Orgl vnd vor disem mit Irer Fur. Dht. geliebsten Frauen Muetter auf der Spanischen Rais gebrauchen lassen. Also ... das ... Sy ... zu bedenkhen gibt, ob sy Ine vmb seiner angezognen gelaisten sechszechenjaerigen Dienste... mit ain zwey oder dreyhundert Gulden bedencken wellen". Graz 9th. March 1602. Ambrosio Bontempo, "sunst Arbanzi (Avanzi) genand", was born in 1560, probably in Gradisca, where his parents had an estate, and served as dance master at the Court in Graz, where he enjoyed the highest reputation, from 1586/87-1620. He died between 1620/25. In 1592 he accompanied Princess Anna, a daughter or Karl II, on her journey to Poland as a royal bride, and in 1598 he attended the dowager Archduchess Maria on her journey to Spain, where he performed before the Spanish King. His name, ("Ambrosy"), is also mentioned in a revealing report on a dance celebration which was held at the Graz Court in 1608 and in connection with the purchase of an organ. He was the father of the Graz *Hoforganist,* Alessandro Bontempo, and uncle to Giacomo and Antonio Vigasi, who were both *Hofmusiker* in Graz and later in Vienna. His name occurs frequently in the papers in the Graz *Hofkammer.* The report on the dance celebration was published by J. Wastler, *Das Kunstleben am Hofe zu Graz.* Graz, 1897, p. 136ff. Cf. also F. v. Formentini, "Reisehofstaat d. Prinzessin Anna"... *in Mittheilungen d. hist. Vereines f. Stmk.* H. 2, 1851, p. 170; V. Thiel, *op. cit.,* p. 194; H. Federhofer, "Beitraege zur Geschichte d. Orgelbaues in d. Steiermark" in *Aus Archiv und Chronik.* Jg. 4, Graz 1951, p. 35. Appendix No 78.

[11] *HK* 1602-V-27; I have given the full text of the correspondence in my essay on P. A. Bianco in *KmJb.* 1954. Fileno Cornazzani (Cornazzano) is mentioned in 1567 as being a "Zinkenplaser", and later also as trombonist and organist at the Court at Munich. He died in 1628. Albrecht (Alberto), the son, died in 1627. He was also an organist at the Munich Court. The works of Fileno and Alberto Cornazzani are catalogued in *Eitner Q* III, p. 57 and *Either Bg.,* p. 489. Fileno Cornazzani seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation as composer, as both religious

vori, a pupil of Claudio Merulo, a new and already highly regarded organist. Until 1601 he had been organist in Montagnana, and in a letter to the Graz *Hofkammerrat* Julius v. Paar, dated 16th. October, 1604, Giovanni Gabrieli refers to him as "mio cordialissimo amico" [12]. It is indeed highly probable that Giovanni Gabrieli was summoned to play at the wedding of the Archduke Ferdinand to Anna of Bavaria, which took place with great pomp and splendour on 23rd April, 1600, since there was no court organist available on the spot. An entry in the records of the Inner-Austrian *Hofkammer* for 25th July, 1602, which reads "dem Johanni Gabriello Instrumentisten ain gulden Ketten von vierhundert gulden werth vnd absonder-

and secular works of his keep on appearing in anthologies between 1586 and 1624. His name also occurs in the *Kasseler Noteninventar* for 1613. Cf. E. Zulauf: *Beitraege z. Geschichte d. Landgraeflich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel.* Cassel 1902, p. 132. That the Baldassare Cornazzani mentioned in *Eitner Q* III, p. 57 and in A. Sandberger, *op. cit.* p. 66ff. was the father of Fileno is proved by *HK* 1572-V-70. In 1572 he had already been 20 years in the service of the Emperor Ferdinand I in Vienna as Musikus and trumpeter, and afterwards he served the Archduke Karl II in Graz. In 1573 he was granted a yearly allowance of 80 guilders, (*HK 1573-IX-86*), and in the same year he became a trombonist to the Duke Albrecht of Bavaria. As he is mentioned in *HK* 1599-III-48 as "pouero vecchio apreso otanta ani", he must have been born around 1520. And from the *HK* 1596-VII-58 it can be seen that he was the uncle of the Graz court instrumentalist, Orazio Sardena, the publisher of the motets of Simon Gatto and Annibale Perini. Baldassare Cornazzani died at the end of 1601 or at the beginning of 1602. *KR* 1602, Vol. 68, fol. 140v and fol. 175. Cf. Appendix No. 22-27. For further information about Sardena cf. my essay on Annibale Perini in *Die Musikforschung* VI, 1954, p. 403.

[12] 1605-I-62. The first mention of his name in the Graz *HK* Archives occurs in *KR* 1602, Vol. 68, fol. 467: "Hofpfeningmaister solle Francesko Stigurj (!) Organisten zwaihundert gulden gnadengellts bezallen". An entry in *HKR* 1604, Vol. 19, fol. 59v runs: "Hofpfennigmaister solle dem Stiuori, hoforganisten, ain Pöcher vm 31 Taller raichen". Graz, March 1604. It would seem almost that Stivori married about this time, as gifts of this kind were usual on such occasions. Later in the same volume we find in fol. 322v/323: "Hofpfennigmaister solle Francesco Stiuori auf Truckherey etlicher musicalischen Stuckh 100 gulden zuestellen. Ferdinand. — Wir beuelchen dir himit gnediglich, das du Francesco Stiuori, damit Er diejenigen vns dedicirten Musicalischen Stuckh in Truckh verferttigen möge, 100 gulden gegen Quittung alsbaldt zuestellest." Graz, 12th. Sept. 1604. This surely refers to the *Musica Austriaca* which was published the following year and dedicated to the dowager Archduchess Maria. His name is further mentioned in a petition made by the Graz *Hofmusikus* Gottardo Menegotti (perhaps the "Menegati" mentioned in *Eitner Q* VI, p. 436) in which he states that owing to illness he has incurred debts "di ottanta fiorini con il Sig(no)r Stivorio, li quali non sono pagati", and that he owes a further 60 to the Graz Hofkaplan and instrumentist Pietro Paolo Salvo; *HK* 1605-I-92. For further on Stivori cf. A. Einstein *op. cit.* p. 45ff. In 1603, Petrus Nicolaus Mansmanerus is mentioned alongside Stivori as *Hoforganist.* He is referred to as being ill in Laibach (Ljubljana) and somewhat later (1604) as "gewester Hoforganist". *KR* 1603, Vol. 69, folio 429v and H. Federhofer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Orgelbaues . . .*, p. 35.

lich zur abfertigung ainhundertvndfuenfzig gulden" would then be explained [13]. It is already known that his uncle, Andrea Gabrieli, had dealings with the Court in Graz, and Giovanni too, after 1602 [14]. Further, the payment of a large sum of money to four "Maylendische Musikanten" proves that external musicians really were present at the royal wedding in 1600 [15]. Francesco Stivori is mentioned in the archives of the Graz *Hofkammer* for the last time in 1606 [16], and seems to have died round about this time, since in the same year Alessandro Tadei, who was a pupil of Gabrieli, and (in 1607) Alessandro Bontempo, son of the Ambrosio Bontempo already mentioned, were both taken on as court organists, while a certain Francesco Rinati, who had come from Italy on trial, "ain Zeit herumb an vnsern Hoff zur Prob gebrauchten Organisten", failed to fulfil all of Ferdinand's requirements. Although he had presented to the Archduke "alcune mie compositioni musicali" and fulfilled commissions for "un motetto sopra un suo soggetto" and "una messa sopra l'istesso soggetto", he was sent packing on 6th March, 1606 with 150 guilders in his pocket, "seitemall er vns zu dienen nit gedauglichen befundten worden" [17]. Tadei, Bontempo and the court organist Giovanni Valentini who had arrived in Graz in 1614 from Poland, are all to be found in 1619 in the Imperial chapel in Vienna. And just as with the court organist, it took a considerable time to find a successor to Bianco himself, who died in 1611. It was only

[13] *KR* 1602, Vol. 68, fol. 457v-458. The lag between the event and the payment would not preclude such an assumption, for Gabrieli had to wait a long time before the costs of his pupil, Alessandro Tadei, who later was also to become court organist in Graz, were refunded to him. Cf. H. Federhofer, "Alessandro Tadei" in *Musica Disciplina* VI. 1952, p. 115 ff.

[14] H. Federhofer, "Jugendjahre und Lehrer Rogier Michaels" in the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* Tenth year, 1953, p. 230 and "A. Tadei" as above.

[15] *HKR* 1600, Vol. 18, fol. 99v-100: "Hofpfeningmaister soll den Maÿlendischen Spilleuthen v̈ber empfangne vierzig Cronen, noch sechzig Taller ... dargeben. Ferdinand. — Wir haben ... Dominico Moeta, Alexandro Morat, Damiano Marcellin vnd Lorennzen Arrihin, Spilleüten von Maÿland, vmb willen Sy auf vnser gnedigistes begern zu vnserer Frl. Hochzeit gehorsamist erschinen, v̈ber die von Peuerol alberait empfangne vierzig Cronnen noch sechzig Taller zuuerehrn bewilligt ... Gräz, den fünfzehenden Tag May im Sechzehenhundertisten Jare". In the alphabetical register this is amplified to read „Maÿlendische Musicanten".

[16] *HK* 1606-VII-66: "Dem Pfennigmaister werden die in des Franciscae Stiuori abraittung v̈bersechne 39 fl. passiert. Gräz, 19. Augusti 1606. — Auf dein wider hiebeiligundt gehorsambes Supplicieren vnd in abraittung v̈bersechne Stiuorische Quittung bewilligen wir, dass dir die darin vermelten 39 fl. khunftig vnausgestelt passiert werden. Doch wellest in dergleichen fällen hinfüro mehrers vnd fleissigeres aufmörkhen haben ... Gräz 19. Augusti 1606."

[17] *HK* 1606-III-18; *HK* 1606-III-122. Perhaps the Francesco di Rinuto, one of whose 6-part masses is mentioned in the catalogue of music (No. 23) in the Marienbibliothek at Elbing. *KmJb.* 11, 1896, p. 43.

in 1614/15 that Giovanni Priuli, a native of Venice, arrived to fill the post [18]. In the meantime, Matthia Ferrabosco had acted as *Vicekapellmeister*. Also among the other Graz court musicians, especially among the instrumentalists, there were outstanding musicians and teachers. With the exception of Ferrabosco, who died in 1616, but who as a composer belonged to the sixteenth century [19], Heinrich Pfendner [20], who was only at the Graz Court for a short time in 1614/1615, and the very young Vinzenz Jelich [21], the most important of them are to be found represented in the *Parnassus* with one or more motets. The anthology may thus be regarded as a cross section through the musical life and productivity at the Court in Graz during the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The *Parnassus,* however, was by no means the first work to be dedicated to Ferdinand. Just how great a music lover this monarch was can be seen from the great number of works dedicated to him both before and after it. He was crowned King of Bohemia in Prague in 1617; in 1618 he was crowned King of Hungary in Pressburg; and in 1619 he was elected and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt-on-Main. After this he transferred his entire household, *Kapelle* included, to Vienna [22]. The fact that the number of such dedications was hardly less when he was Archduke than they were when he was King and Kaiser testifies to the reputation which he enjoyed as a patron of the arts, even when he was still in Graz. The long series seems to have been begun in 1597 by no less a person than Orazio Vecchi with his *Convito musicale,* from whose dedicatory preface, (in which incidentally Bianco is mentioned by name), we learn that Vecchi's *Selva di varia ricreazione* of 1590 was already known at the Court in Graz [23].

[18] See below.

[19] Further to my essay in *Musica disciplina* VII, 1953, p. 250ff. I can now state that Matthia Ferrabosco, the son of Ercole Ferrabosco, was born in 1550 in Bologna, and was baptised on 16th July. G. Livi, "The Ferrabosco Family" in *the Musical Antiquary* Vol. 4, London 1912-13, p. 122ff. See further Appendix no. 29, which contains his request of 1612 to be allowed to buy wind instruments in Venice. The document also throws light on the cultivation of music in the Dominican nunnery in Graz.

[20] H. Federhofer, "Eine neue Quelle der musica reservata" in *Acta musicologica* XXIV, 1952, p. 36, note 19.

[21] H. Federhofer, "Vinzenz Jelich" in the *Archiv für Musikwissenchaft,* XII, 1955.

[22] The fact that there were two Archduke Ferdinands (Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol died in 1595) has led to much confusion in musicological research. Thus J. Schlosser, *Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente.* Vienna, 1920, p. 12 attributes the dedication of the *Parnassus* to the latter and calls the editor Giovanni Buontempo. Cf. W. Senn, *op. cit.,* p. 159.

[23] A facsimile of the dedicatory preface in E. Vogel, *Bibliothek d. gedr. welt-*

A year later came Antonio Mogavero with the dedication of his Third Book of Madrigals for five voices [24]. In 1602, Tomas Luis de Victoria came forward with a request for financial assistance towards the cost of printing of ten books of music, including a *Bataglia Missa.* The contents of this petition, which is still in existence today, are largely the same as those of the petition to Francesco Maria II della Rovere (Duke of Urbino), which F. Pedrell has given us in full. The works in question were *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi . . . Matriti* [Madrid] *1600,* the *Battaglia Missa* (for 9 voices) appearing under the title "Missa pro victoria". On the recommendation of the Graz *Hofkapellmeister,* Pietro Antonio Bianco, Victoria received the large sum of 100 crowns [25]. The then *Hofkapellmeister* of the Archduke Matthias and former master of the choir boys in Graz, Lambert de Sayve, dedicated a mass and a Magnificat to the Archduke Ferdinand in 1604 [26]. In the same year Ferdinand's name appeared in the dedications of two copious collections: the Motets for 4-12 voices. The first was by two former Graz court musicians, Simon Gatto and Annibale Perini, (who were then both dead), which were published in Venice by the Graz court instrumentalist, Orazio Sardena (only two part-books have survived; the preface is dated in Graz Ist. March, 1604 [27]). The second was the *Melodiae Sacrae* for 5-12 voices by various *Hofmusikern* to Sigismund III of Poland, which were published in Krakau by the Polish *Hofkapellist* Vinzenz Lilius, and which were dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand on 18th May, 1604 [28]. This latter collection contains among other things

lichen Vocalmusik Italiens, Vol. II, 1892, p. 271. In *HKR* 1597, fol. 134 we find: "Ferdinand. — Wir haben Oratio Vechi vmb etliche vnns verehrte Musicalische Büecher funfzig Taller raichen zu lassen bewilligt." The *Hofpfenningmeister* was to hand them "zu Handen vnnsers Capelmaisters Peter Anthoni Biancho gegen seiner Quittung". — Graz, the last day of October, 1597.

[24] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 471. And in *HKR* 1598/99, fol. 52: "...Don Antonio Mogauero etlicher vnns dedizierter musicalischer Püecher wegen 50 Gulden... zuuerehrn genedigist bewilligt..." Graz, 20th. March, 1599. A *Missarum liber I* of 1604 and a *Partitura Lamentationum Jeremiae...* 1623 by Mogavero (dedicated to the young Archduke Ferdinand, later to become Emperor Ferdinand III) listed in Liepmannsohn's catalogue (*Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek W. Wolfheim,* Vol. II, Berlin, 1929) under lots 1888 and 1889. Further in *Eitner Q.* VII, p. 17.

[25] F. Pedrell: „Quelques commentaires à une lettre de l'insigne maître Victoria" in *SIMG* XI, 1909-10, p. 469ff. The *Battaglia-Missa* has been published in *T. L. Victoria opera omnia,* edited by Ph. Pedrell. Vol. VI. Lipsiae 1909, p. 26ff.; B. A. Wallner, *op. cit.,* p. 454; Appendix No. 74.

[26] H. Federhofer: "Lambert de Sayve an der Grazer Hofkapelle" in the *Revue belge de Musicologie.* Vol. III, 1949, p. 216.

[27] H. Federhofer: "Annibale Perini" in *Die Musikforschung.* Vol. VII, 1954, p. 402ff.

[28] Title and list of contents in *Eitner Bg.,* p. 238.

motets by Antonio Patart and Ippolito Bonani (Bonnani) who are also known to have served with the Graz *Hofkapelle* although not at the same time [29]. The dedication is accounted for by the close relationship that existed between the Inner-Austrian branch of the Habsburgs and the Polish Court. Ferdinand's sister, the Archduchess Anna, had married King Sigismund III in 1592, and after her death in 1598, Sigismund married her sister, Constantia in 1605. The year 1605 brought the *Musica Austriaca,* which was dedicated to Ferdinand's mother, the Archduchess Maria. It was the last printed work of the Graz court organist, Francesco Stivori, and is unfortunately only partially preserved today. The splendid madrigals of this collection — often with many voice parts — were perhaps intended to celebrate the arrival of the Bavarian Archduke Wilhelm, an uncle of Ferdinand, who visited Graz in 1604 [30].

[29] Antonio Patart entered the Graz court chapel as 'Musicus und Trompeter' on 1st Sept. 1582 and not 1572 as the *Kleiderstaat* (1577-84, fol. 79) erroneously states; *HK* 1584-I-50, *HK* 1586-XII-26, *Kammer* 1586-XII-6, *HK* 1587-VI-18, *HK* 1588-XII-24 and elsewhere. His name is frequently mentioned in the records of the Graz *Hofkammer.* In 1587, on the occasion of his wedding, he received 20 guilders and in the lists of the Graz Household for 1587 and 1590 he is down as receiving a stipend of 14 guilders a month. After the death of Karl II of Styria in 1590 he went to Munich, where he remained till 1595 "hernach er vom dienst khomen". Sandberger: *op. cit.,* p. 224. I find no confirmation for the assumption of B. A. Wallner that he returned to Graz after this date. A paper in the Graz Hofkammer (*HK* 1604-IV-91) however, in which he asks that his youngest brother, Giovanni Giacomo Patart, be taken on by Georg Poss as a pupil, shows that at this time indeed he was a court musician to King Sigismund III of Poland. A. Chybinsky: *Slownic Muzyków dawney Polski do roku* 1800, Krakau 1949, p. 96, mentions him as being there in 1598. He is listed in *Eitner Q* under three names: Antonius Batardi (Patardi) Patavius (implying that he came from Padua), Antoni Patard (Patart) and Antonius Patarto, along with his few preserved works. On the occasion of Sigismund III's marriage in 1605 to the Archduchess Constantia "ist des kunigs (Sigismund III's) capellensinger Anthonio Battart wegen etlicher componierten und verehrten gesang geben worden ein vergulter becher". *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistor. Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses.* Vol. 19, 1898, entry 16591. Not only his father, Giovanni Patart (d. 1603) but also his brothers Bernardo, Carlo, Rinaldo, and Giovanni Giacomo were instrumentalists at the court in Graz. Rinaldo Patart was recalled to the Court in Graz from Ansbach in 1596 by Ferdinand. (*HK* 1596-XI-36). In 1615 Carlo Patart was a cornet player to the Archduke Karl, the Bishop of Brixen, who sent him on his way to Graz with a reference addressed to his brother Ferdinand dated Brixen, 18th. March 1615. (*HK* 1615-IV-6). — Ippolito Bonani sang as an alto in the Graz court chapel from 1611/12. (*HK* 1615-II-14; *HK* 1619-II-29; *HK* 1619-III-47). His name still appears in the list of 1619 which is quoted by Köchel. In that year he received the 'titulus mensae' of the St. Lambrecht monastery (*Liber actionum* in the *monastery library*). Cf. Appendix No. 38-39.

[30] R. Peinlich, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums in Graz. 2. Periode", in *Jahresbericht des k.k. Ober-Gymnasiums zu Graz* 1869, p. 57.

Georg Poss, whose work also appears in the *Parnassus,* and who was later to become *Hofkapellmeister* to the Archduke Karl in Neisse, Silesia, followed in 1607 with his motets *Orpheus mixtus* for 8-12 voices, (printed by Widmanstetter in Graz) and his *Liber primus missarum octonis et senis vocibus.* Two sets of motets which were published in Venice, the *Sacri concentus* of 1609 by the Graz *Hofkapellmeister,* Pietro Antonio Bianco, and the *Symphoniae sacrae* of 1611 by Raimundo Ballestra, court instrumentalist in Graz and later *Hofkapellmeister* in Saverne (Alsace) are also dedicated to Ferdinand. Meanwhile, musicians further afield were also busy. In 1609 Gabriello Puliti produced his second book of madrigals for five voices, *Baci Ardenti* [31], and in 1610 a Venetian publisher, Giacomo Vincenti, the *Sinfonie musicali à 8 voci* of Ludovico Viadana [32]. Then, in 1613, came Giovanni Battista Grillo with Ms works "so wol mit Stimen, als mancherley Instrumenten zugebrauchen vnd zu consertiern" [33], and Giovanni Andrea Cocciola, who presented the Archduke "etliche musicallische Puecher" [34]. After 1615, the year of the *Parnassus,* came a positive spate of dedications: Giovanni Valentini's *Secondo libro de madrigali a 4-11,* (Venice, 1616) [35]; Giovanni Priuli (*Sacrorum concentuum pars prima.* Venice, 1618) [36]; Allegro Porto (*Madrigali à cinque voci.* Venice, 1625) [37]; Amadeo Freddi (*Psalmi integri quatuor vocibus.* op. 8. Venice, 1626) [38]; Gio. Battista Buonamente (*Quarto libro de varie sonate, sinfonie, gagliarde* . . . Venice, 1626) [39]; Pietro Francesco Garzi (*Madrigali e can-*

[31] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 108.

[32] Cl. Sartori, *Bibliographia della musica strumentale Italiana.* Florence, 1952, p. 172.

[33] H. Federhofer, "Matthia Ferrabosco" . . . p. 224, No. 23.

[34] Giovanni Andrea Cocciola, according to his own statement a native of Piemont, had served at the Court in Graz from 1603/4 as a soprano (castrato). *HK* 1606-III-100; *HK* 1608-VI-52. In 1609 the treasurer received instructions "dem Bischoff von Vercell ain präsent von 100 Cronen wert, so er auf des Margrauen von Purgau Tochter hochzeit verehrt, zu Handen Gion Andrea Cozola widerumben guetmachen". (*HK* 1609-VI-35, *HK* 1611-IX-45). In *HK* 1613-VI-15 he is erroneously referred to as Georg Andrea Cocciola, and also in *HKR* 1613, Vol. 28, fol. 174 and in B. A. Wallner, *op. cit.,* p. 454. Because of age and illness he was pensioned off at his own wish with a gratuity of 300 guilders, on 11th. Nov. 1615, having served with the Graz Hofkapelle for 12 years. (*HK* 1615-XI-32). He was doubtless a relative probably a brother of Giovanni Battista Cocciola, a native of Vercelli in Piemont, who was Kapellmeister to the Chancellor of Lithuania, and one of whose motets for three voices also appears in Bonometti's *Parnassus. Eitner Q* II, p. 478. See Appendix No. 17-21.

[35] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 264.

[36] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 240.

[37] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 96.

[38] G. Gaspari, *Catalogo.* Bologna. Vol. II, p. 224.

[39] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 309.

zonette. Venice, 1629) [40]; Dario Castello (*Sonate concertate in stil moderno.* Venice, 1629) [41]; Marco Scacchi (*Madrigali à cinque.* Venice, 1634) [42]; and Giacomo Arrigoni (*Concerti di camera.* Venice, 1635) [43]. It may be possible one day to complete this list, when the vocal religious music of the early part of the seventeenth century is better known. In this context, however, it serves to show that, with the possible exception of the Landgrave Moritz, "the Scholar", of Hessen [44], Ferdinand was the most esteemed and sought-after patron of music of his day.

This wealth of music is still largely unexplored. The *Parnassus* occupies our particular interest, though, not only because it was the first anthology of monodic *concerti* to be dedicated to the Archduke, but rather because it contains such a large and representative selection of the genre, and also because, as already mentioned, almost the half was contributed by Graz court musicians. The lives and work of these musicians have never been fully gone into, and it is not intended within the framework of this essay to remedy the omission. Indeed, a great deal of research would be necessary before such a work could be attempted. The aim here is to fill out our previous knowledge of the composers under discussion from the records in the archives of the Graz Hofkammer and other sources, and to estimate the artistic and historical importance of the motets by the Graz composers that appear in the *Parnassus.* As I have already written about the Reservata-Meister, Raimundo Ballestra, and Gabrieli's pupil, Alessandro Tadei, in another context [45], and as I am preparing at the moment a study on Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana (who has been known hitherto only by

[40] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 270.
[41] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 338.
[42] E. Vogel, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 197.
[43] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 346.
[44] H. J. Moser, *Heinrich Schütz.* Kassel 1936, p. 32.
[45] "Eine neue Quelle der musica reservata" in *Acta musicologica.* Vol. XXIV, p. 32ff. and "Alessandro Tadei, a pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli" in *Musica disciplina.* Vol. VI, 1952, p. 115ff. It might be added here that Ballestra married in 1604. We learn this, not from the parish register, which goes back only as far as 1610, earlier records having been lost, but from *HKR* 1604, fol. 370^{v} . . ."Vnserm Musico Reimunden Ballestrae schenkhen wir auf sein hochzeit ainhundert Taller . . . Gräz 27. Octobris 1604". On Ballestra see also W. Senn, *Musik u. Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck,* Innsbruck 1954, p. 205f. Further to my essay on Tadei I can now add the exact date of his appointment as Kapellmeister to the Monastery of Kremsmünster: "Den 20. May (1629) Herrn Alexandro Thadaeo, so vom 11.11.1628 biss auf den 20. May 1629 alhie Capelmaister gewest, halbe Jarsbesoldung bezalt 100fl." Cf. Father Altmann Kellner, "Father Benedikt Lechler" (Kremsmünster 1933, p. 57 in *Jahresberichte d. Obergymn. d. Benediktiner zu Kremsmünster*). In 1640 we find Tadei a member of the Carmelite Monastery in Venice; cf. W. Jensinghaus, "Alessandro Tadei" in *Schweizer musikpädagogische Blätter.* 1953, No. 16, p. 3.

name) and his *Musiche* of 1613 (containing also a monody of Francesco degli Atti) [46], I shall deal here with the biographies of Alessandro Bontempo, Georg Poss, Giovanni Priuli, Michelangelo Rizzio, Giovanni Sansoni, and Giovanni Valentini.

The compiler of the *Parnassus,* Giovanni Battista Bonometti (Buonometti), is not known to have been a composer himself. From his dedicatory preface, dated in Graz, 30th April, 1615, we learn that he was born in Bergamo (presumably in the last quarter of the sixteenth century), and that before he came to Graz he was a singer in Milan Cathedral. In his dedication he includes the following eulogy of the Graz *Hofkapelle* and of its patron: "Ut vero Serenitatis tuae aura provocatus Graecium veni, ut harmonicos vocum concentus, quos sola fama ante cognoveram, auribus hausi, statim in hanc mentem suavi violentia sum pertractus, ut (quod alias Mediolani amicorum armatis precibus persuasus aggressus fuerim) seligerem optimorum mela suavissima, & latialibus cygnis Graecensis Philomelas tuas, quasi coronae gemmas inserem, & in publicum productas in Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandaeum magni tui nominis titulo gloriosum, collocarem" [47]. Actually this praise receives indirect confirmation from Michael Praetorius in the chapter from his *Organographia* on the "Clavicymbalum vniversale seu perfectum", where he singles out four (unnamed) "Graeci Musici" who could sing perfectly in tune to such an instrument (to be discussed later under G. Valentini). Praetorius also mentions that there was a *positif* with double semitones at the Court at this time, which shows that the activities in the chromatic-enharmonic field, begun in the first half of the 16th century, were not unknown in Graz [48]. A collective dedication to the *Concerti* of Giovanni Ghizzolo of Brescia, published in Milan in 1611, confirms the fact that Bonometti was a tenor in the Cathedral there [49]. He came to Graz as a singer in 1613. This we learn from his petition to Ferdinand in the year 1620, in which he complains that "in sette anni del mio seruitio" he has only received one gratuity of 150 guilders. Only once, in 1615, "wegen etlicher dedicierten moteten", by which he means the *Parnassus,* had he received 25 guilders [50]. On 20th November, 1617, in Graz, he married Diamante, the daughter of the late Graz *Vicehofkapellmeister,* Matthia Ferrabosco. Witness at the ceremony was the Graz court organist, G. Valentini. When Ferdinand become Emperor in 1619, Bonometti went

[46] Congress lecture at Oxford. 1955. Sources of information about Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana and Francesco degli Atti are given in Appendix No. 1-4 and 30-36.

[47] G. Gaspari, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 351.

[48] See note 131.

[49] G. Gaspari, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 426.

[50] *HK* 1615-X-30 (petition lost); *HK* 1620-VIII-45. Cf. Appendix No. 7.

along with the Graz *Hofkapelle* to Vienna where, in 1620, as a reward for his services, he received a considerable sum of money and a license to import 100 buckets of wine from Hungary, free of duty [51]. He seems to have died soon afterwards, as he is not listed among the members of the *Hofkapelle* of Ferdinand III [52]. The *Parnassus* seems to have been the only publication for which he was responsible; at all events, no other such collection is known of, nor is there any mention of such in the archives. His widow's will, dated 28th Dec, 1639, has been preserved, and she stipulates therein that she be buried in her husband's grave in the Minoritenkirche, Heiligenkreuz ("... voglio, che il mio corpo sia sepolto nella chiesa di s(an)ta croce di Padri minori conue(n)tuali nella sepoltura della felice memoria di mio marito s(igno)r Gio(vanni) Battista Bonometti") [53]. She named as executor the Imperial *Hofkaplan* and *Musikus* (alto), Giacomo Filippo Ferrari detto il Mondondone. Among the signatures of the witnesses are those of several other Imperial court musicians: Virgil Pickhl (bass), Agostino Argomenti (bass) and Paul Rausch (instrumentalist).

The "jewels in the crown", as Bonometti so extravagantly calls the Graz court musicians, did not all glitter so brightly, however. Georg Poss, Reimundo Ballestra, Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini shone above the others — as can be seen, not only from their compositions that have come down to us, but also from their rewards: all four finally became Habsburg *Kapellmeister*. The oldest member of the Graz *Hofkapelle* was Georg Poss, and he was also the only one of the 32 contributors to the *Parnassus* of German stock. According to the title page of his *Orpheus Mixtus,* (Graz, 1607), he was born in Franconia [54]. The date of his birth must have been about 1570/75, he is first mentioned in 1594 among the trumpeters of the Archduke Maximilian, the Deutschmeister and later reigning prince of Tyrol [55]. He it was who at this time sent Poss to Venice for three years to study [56]. Who his teacher was is not known. Although he enjoyed the favour of the Archduke Maximilian, this did not prevent the Graz *Hofkapellmeister,* P. A. Bianco, from luring him to Graz, where he arrived in the year 1597 as trumpeter and cornetist, and where at the same

[51] *HK* 1617-XII-38; *HK* 1619-II-79. Cf. Appendix No. 5 and 6. Graz, Stadtpfarre zum heiligen Blut, parish register Vol. I, p. 111; Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv* R 718, 1626, fol. 226v and 361v.

[52] L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* p. 59.

[53] Her will is to be found under No. 4942/17 saec. in the Archives of the City of Vienna.

[54] Cf. note 82.

[55] G. Pietzsch, "Zur Musikkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II" in *ZfMw* XVI, 1934, p. 173; W. Senn, *op. cit.,* pp. 188, 195.

[56] Appendix No. 52.

time he was given the job of coaching the first trumpeters in the playing of fanfares [57]. The 18 guilder stipend on which he took up his duties bears further testimony to the importance attached to his position. He himself, in a petition dated 1597 [58], points out that he has been in the service of the House of Habsburg since his boyhood — presumably he had sung as a choir boy with the Archduke Maximilian. He married some time before 1600, as we find that on the 22nd March, he was excused the repayment of 100 guilders which had been advanced to him to cover wedding expenses [59]. Apart from his duties in "Musik vnd Trometerey", he was kept busy with compositions which the Archduke had commissioned [60]. It would seem, however, that in spite of his extra labours, he did not succeed in supplementing his income, for the official records complain that he had "manche wochen khaumb drey oder viermall zu dienen", and Bianco merely referred him to Ferdinand for payment of "extraordinari anbefollhnen Compositionen" [61]. He himself, however, furnishes the most convincing proof of his industry in a detailed petition early in 1611, in which, feeling his stipend is inadequate, he asks for release from the Archduke's service, in the confident expectation that the Archduke would not accept it, but would remunerate him accordingly [62]. His application, in which he mentions, besides masses and motets, several magnificats, 12-part Lamentations and a 20-part Miserere, had the desired effect, and brought him on the 7th July, 1611, a gratuity of 600 guilders. It was also in this year that he accompagnied Ferdinand to Vienna to take part in the wedding celebrations of King Matthias [63]. The masses and motets to which he refers are presumably those which G. Widmanstetter, the Graz court printer, printed in 1607 at the command of Archduke Ferdinand. He was assisted by a grant of 400 guilders, and the edition consisted of 150 copies [64]. The greater part of the other compositions mentioned seem to have been lost [65]. Ferdinand forbade him to dedicate his compositions to other princes and personalities, but this cannot have applied to his printed works, as in 1608 we find him

[57] As note 56 and *HKR* 1597, 138v: "Georg Possen solle der Pfennigmaister Zwainzug gulden Aufzuggelt bezallen". 4th Nov. 1597 and Appendix No. 43.

[58] Appendix No. 43.

[59] Appendix No. 44.

[60] Appendix Nos. 45 and 52.

[61] As note 60.

[62] Appendix No. 52.

[63] As note 62 and *HKR* 1611, Vol. 26 fol. 289. H. Federhofer, "Alessandro Tadei" ... p. 131.

[64] Appendix No. 51 and *HKR* 1607, Vol. 22, fol. 533 and B. A. Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst*. Munich, 1912, p. 453. Original title in note 81 and 82.

[65] Cf. *Eitner Q* VIII, p. 35 under Georg Poss.

honouring the Stadtrat of Leoben with a collection of motets [66]. These are also in the inventory of the Archduke Maximilian, the Deutschmeister's, music, taken in 1619 [67]. Poss however was respected not only as a composer but as a teacher. Having already had the Graz choir boy and later trumpeter, Martin Keller, under his charge since approximately 1598 — teaching him first the clarin trumpet and later, for three years, the cornet — he received Giovanni Giacomo Patart as a pupil early in 1604. Patart was the youngest brother of Antonio Patart, who was then *Hofmusikus* to Sigismund III of Poland [68]. To assist him with his teaching he had one Lucas Marinus [69]. On the ninth of February, 1616, he married for the second time. The bride was Clara Empell, the daughter of Archduke Leopold's counsellor, Ulrich Empell. As the Archduke's representative, the new *Hofkapellmeister,* Giovanni Priuli, who in 1618 was to celebrate him as a "Virtuoso", presented him with a drinking vessel worth 24 guilders [70]. He reached the height of his career in 1618, when the Archduke Karl, a brother of Ferdinand, and Bishop of Breslau (1608-1624) and Brixen (1613-1624), who had presumably known him in Graz, summoned him to his residence, the old bishop's seat Neisse in Silesia, as *Kapellmeister* [71]. On 21st Feb. 1618, his parting gratuity of 600 fl. in Graz was approved. This he put aside for the further instruction of his stepson, the Graz court musician Paul Rausch, both Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Sansoni having declared themselves willing to undertake that task. Then, furnished with a passport for Neisse, which was issued to him on the 23rd Feb. 1618, he left

[66] Appendix No. 52; Styrian Landesarchiv, Ratsprotokoll Leoben 1608, fol. 37v: "Georg Pass [sic!] Ier Für. Dchlt. Musicus hat einem Ersamben Rath 12 partes der fürnembsten moteten, welche er ein thesaurum nennt, verehrt. Hierüber hat ein Magistrat Ime sechs Taler zue schenkhen verordnet vnd bevolchen." At the sitting of 9 th. June, 1608. Should he be identical with the „Georg Pötsch" mentioned by Eitner (*Q* VIII, p. 4), it would seem that he also honoured the Elector of Bavaria with the same work, or else with a collection of masses. This "Pötsch" was mentioned as being "Musikus und Cornettist" with the Archduke Ferdinand, and as Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, as we have already seen, died in 1595, and as no one of the name Pötsch is known to have served in the Kapelle in Graz, this assumption would appear quite feasible. (I am indebted for this piece of information to my colleague W. Senn of Innsbruck).

[67] W. Senn, *op. cit.,* pp. 188 and 195.

[68] Appendix No. 47 and in *HKR* 1604, Vol. 19, fol. 117, 249v and 256.

[69] Appendix No. 48.

[70] Graz, Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut, parish register Vol. 1, p. 41; Appendix No. 53 and 55.

[71] Appendix No. 54. The Archduke Karl founded a Jesuit college in Neisse. Cf. Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon,* Freiburg in Breisgau, 1883, (Second ed.) Vol. II, p. 247; further in P. B. Gams; *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae.* Ratisbon, 1873, pp. 264, 266.

Graz — after 21 years of uninterrupted service in the Graz court chapel [72].

As early as in the petition of 1611 Poss mentions his failing health, and again in that of 1618 he speaks of his "herzue ruckheten vnd geschwechten Alter". This perhaps explains why he only occupied his new post for some 4 years. In 1622 we already find Steffano Bernardi serving as *Hofkapellmeister* to the Archduke Karl — who was himself to die two years later, on 26th Dec. 1624 [73]. An "Inventarium oder verzaichnus aller posidifn, regaln ... geschriebener und gedruckter, Lateinisch und Waelschen concerten" made after the Archduke's death, in which Bernardi is referred to as the "jeziger capellmaister", writes off Georg Poss as the "gewesener capellmaister" [74]. The same inventory also proves conclusively that the fruitful composer Antonio Cifra was a member of Karls chapel [75]. Thus the contention of Liberati, which most historians have followed, but for which G. Fellerer (Art. Antonio Cifra, *MGG* II, 1435) can find no proof, namely that Cifra was in the service of the Archduke Karl in Neisse, is finally confirmed [76].

[72] Appendix Nos. 54-56. On 20th Feb. 1618 he appears as a witness at the wedding of Georg Pichelmayr (profession not stated) to Elisabeth, the widow of Ferdinand II's Hofbuchhaltereiamtsverwalter, Hans Färber. Graz, Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut, parish register Vol. I, pp. 125/26.

[73] Cf. the article on Steffano Bernardi in *MGG*.

[74] *Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Sammlungen d. Kaiserhauses.* Vol. 33, Vienna 1915, LXXVII.

[75] The passage runs: "Inventarium oder verzaichnus aller posidifn, regaln, fliegeln oder clavizimbeln und andern instrumenten, von pfeifen und seidenwerkh (string instruments), sowoll aller und jeder bücher, gross und khlein, geschriebener und gedruckter, Lateinisch und Wälschen concerten, so ihr hochfürstliche durchlaucht (the Archduke Karl) hochseeligster gedechtnus alhiero in der Neiss in ihrer erzherzoglichen capellen verlassen, wie volget: ... Item von alten und neuen authoribus allerlai pücher von motetten, messen, psalmen, madrigalen, getrueckht, ein- und uneingebundenen, zwo thruen voll, so alle von dem Antonio Cifra mit einem ordentlichen inventario eingeantwortt, welches inventari verlohren und jetzigem capellmaister Stephano Bernardo nichts eingeantwortet auch sich nichts darumb wil annemben." *Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Sammlungen d. Kaiserhauses.* Vol. 33, Vienna 1915, LXXVI.

[76] Antimo Liberati writes in his letter to Ovidio Persapegi: "E da ambedue questi Nanini tra i molti scholari che ne deriuarono, i piu fauoriti, e famosi furono Antonio Cifra, huomo di gran talento, il quale dopo hauer hauto diuerse insigni Capelle, e specialmente Maestro del Serenissimo Arciduca Carlo d'Austria fratello dell' Imperatore Ferdinando Secundo; mori poi Maestro di Capella nella Santa Casa di Loreto, per il di cui seruizio fece e mando alla stampa diuerse mute di Salmi, di Motetti concertati, e di Messe a Cappella con molto suo honore". Cf. G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna.* Vol. II, Bologna 1892, p. 201.

[77] Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv E* 1629, Vol. 729, fol. 478v, October: „Georg Possen gewester Erzherzog Carlischer Capelmaister per schäzung beim Guet Waltersdorf biss Er seiner darauf habenden praetension contentiert". — R 1629, Vol. 731, fol. 209v, April: "An Arbogast von Annaberg per HoffCamerschreiben, dass Er vber w[ei-

Nothing definite is known of Poss's further career. Liberally endowed with gratuities, he is mentioned in reports in the archives of the Vienna *Hofkammer* for 1629 and 1633 [77]. He seems to have been alive as late as 1637 [78]. Then we lose trace of him. K. Geiringer's assumption [79] that he was related to Isaac Posch — one of the fathers of the German orchestral suite — finds no confirmation in the documents of the Graz *Hofkammer*. Here he is always referred to as 'Poss' or 'Pass', although the name Posch was not rare in Graz at that time [80].

Of the more important members of the Graz court chapel, Georg Poss was the one who served longest, and he was perhaps also the most prolific composer. That his compositions were highly valued by Ferdinand is amply proved by the *Hofkammer* reports. He played approximately the same role in Graz, as an instrumental teacher, as Giovanni Sansoni was to play later in Vienna. The two voluminous collections of his works which Widmanstetter published, and which have hitherto remained unexplored, show him to be a "German-Venetian". The book of masses includes three 6-voice and six 8-voice *missae parodiae* [81], while the *Orpheus mixtus* contains thirty-two

land] Erzherzogs Carln zu Österreich gewesten Capellmaisters Georg Poss praetension der 17200 Fl., weiln Er mit dem Ihme per 13.000 Fl. berait eingeantwortten Guetts nit zufriden vnd ihme, vngehindert sein forderung nur von gnaden ... herrürt, zu kurz geschehen zu sein vermaint, was es damit für ein aigentliche beschaffenheit habe, berichten wolle." — R 1629, Vol. 731, fol. 476, September: "Bschaidt an Georgen Possen w[eiland] Erzherzogs Caroli zu Österreich gewesten Capellmaistern, weiln fürkombt, dass ihme beraitt mit einem confiscirten Rebellenguett bei der Glazerischen Commision 12793 fl. guettgemacht, dass Er also ausser der Erzherzogl. gnadens verwilligung .. vermer nichts zu suechen habe." — E 1633, Vol 745, fol. 604, August: "Georgen Possens gewesten Erzherzog Carlischen Capellmaisters ansuchende Anschaffung seiner Hoffpraetensionen auf vnderscheidliche Österreichische Ämbter betr." It was the intention of the Hofkammer to take over the Poss House in the Sporgasse in Graz in order to extend the Mint. *HK* 1622-X-52.

[78] Appendix No. 56.

[79] K. Geiringer, "Isaac Posch" in *StMw* XVII, 1930, p. 55.

[80] Thus we find a "Georg Posch" in 1602 acting as foreman of the bridge at Krems (HK 1602-III-26) and a "Stefan Posch" who was Mayor of Graz from 1602-1604 and again in 1611. Cf. my essay "Beiträge zur älteren Musikgeschichte Kärntens" in *Carinthia* I, 1955. Neither is there any proof that he was in any way related to the Graz court bass Paul Posch who was before 1618 Cantor in the "fürstlichen Damenstift" at Hall in Tyrol. Appendix No. 60, 61. Cf. W. Senn, *"Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol"*, Innsbruck, 1938, p. 183.

[81] Georgii Poss, Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae, etc. Ducis Styriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae etc. cornicinis musici, *Liber primus Missarum octonis et senis vocibus.* Graecii Styriae, Typis Widmanstadij Anno MDCVII. This contains the masses "Domine Deus Rex magne" a 6, "Tirsi morir volea" a 6, "Mirate che m'ha fatto" a 6, "Sub tuum praesidium" a 8, "Jubilate Deo" a 8, O misterium admirabile a 8, Jubilate Deo a 8, "Peccantem me quotidie" a 8 and "Factum est silentium" a 8.

8-voice, one 9-voice, two 10-voice, nine 12-voice, and two 16-voice motets [82]. With the exception of five homage pieces celebrating divers events at the Habsburg Court in Graz [83] — one of which even had an Italian text — all the others were settings of Latin texts, often taken from the Bible. There are several "Heiligenmotetten" (motets composed to honour a particular saint) among them. The Graz *Hofkapellmeister,* Bianco, reports to the Archduke a year before their publication that the *Kapellnotist,* Georg Kugelmann, had made two copies of 8-, 10-, 12-, and 16-voice motets by Georg Poss, which were required both for use in the chapel and in the archducal apartments [84]. These two Ms copies, long since lost, doubtless contained motets later published in *Orpheus mixtus.* Their dual purpose further explains the strange title of that volume. Any further investigation into his work, (which, with the exception of the works mentioned above, seems to have been exclusively religious), must be concentrated chiefly on these two collections. Apart from those, there remain in Ms only a few masses for several voices, a Magnificat (12-voice), two Miserere and a few motets [85]. Besides these, the only other works we have are those for

[82] Orpheus mixtvs, vel si mavis concentvs mvsici, tam sacris, qvam profanis vsibvs elaborati, tam simvlatis instrvmentorvm, qvam vivis hominvm vocibvs concinnati, qvibvs vox octava initivm, sextadecima finem scribit. Authore Georgio Poss Francone, Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae, ducis Styriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae etc. cornicine musico. Liber primus. Graecii Styriae. Typis Widmanstadij Anno MDCVII.

[83] No. 30/31: "Mollia purpureas pingunt a 8, pro nuptiis Serenissimi Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae". (The Archduke Ferdinand's first marriage, to Maria Anna, the daughter of the Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, took place in 1600).

No. 32: "Arctoi perimit frigora syderis a 8, in faelicem ex Polonia reditum Serenissimae Matris et Sobolum Archiducum Austriae." (The Archduchess Maria, the mother of Ferdinand, accompanied her daughter Constantia to Poland in 1605, where she was to marry King Sigismund III).

No. 42: "Quantis Austriacum a 12, Gratulatio in recens natum Joannem Carolum Archiducem Austriae". (The Archduke Johann Karl, son of the Archduke Ferdinand, was born on 1st. Nov. 1605 and died on 16th. Dec. 1616).

No. 43: "O orbis inclytum decus a 12, in faelicem ex Italia reditum Serenissimi Maximiliani Ernesti Archiducis Austriae." (The Archduke Maximilian Ernst, born 17th. Nov. 1583, d. 18th. Feb. 1616 was a brother of the Archduke Ferdinand).

No. 44: "Frà quanti il sol alluma a 12, in lode del Serenissimo Ferdinando e della sua Serenissima consorte Marianna". (Cf. above Nos. 30/31).

[84] Appendix No. 49.

[85] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms 16702, No. 7: "Missa sine nomine 16 voc."; No. 10: "Missa super hoc tegitur 17 voc."; No. 11: "Missa super en ecco 26 voc."; former University Library of Breslau Ms 20: "Missa super Jubilate Deo 8 voc.", which is actually identical with one of the two printed masses of the same name. Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Ms 16708: "Magnificat 12 voc."; Kremsmünster, Kod L 12: 2 Miserere 6 voc. and 8 voc.; Vienna, Nat. Bibl.: "Motette Crux fidelis 4 voc." (three copies) Ms 15942, 15943 and 19426; Berlin, öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek,

smaller voice-combination to be found in the *Parnassus:* the two motets "Hic est beatus Carolus" (C. B.), and "Gaudeamus, jubilemus, exultemus in Domine" (C.A.T.B.). Thus it would appear that, while his work up to 1607 is fairly completely preserved, the greater part of his later output has been lost. Even the 12-voice Lamentations, the several Magnificats and the 20-voice Miserere mentioned in the petition of 1611 have perished [86]. This was a similar fate to that which befell the works of his colleague, Vinzenz Jelich, who later became court instrumentalist and *canonicus* in Saverne (Alsace). Only his op. I-III, which were printed, have been preserved [87].

Giovanni Priuli would seem to have been only a little younger than Georg Poss. D. Romano Micheli describes him in his *Musica vaga et artificiosa* (Venice, 1615 p. 39) [88] as being a native of Venice and as being *Kapellmeister* to the Archduke Ferdinand, and in the preface to his *Salmi concertati* (Venice, 1626), Giovanni Rovetta says that Priuli, as was the case with all the prominent composers of his day, Alessandro Striggio and Giovanni Valentini for example, had begun his career as an instrumentalist, only later turning composer [89]. This remark, coupled with the fact that his first book of madrigals (5 voices) was published in 1604 as "primitie della mia industria" [90] enables us to fix the date of his birth more or less. It must have been between 1575-1580. Nothing is known of his family or education, except that he received the latter in Venice. It is however possible that he was connected with a prominent Venetian family of the same

Ms 40028, score of 1599, "Ad Dominum cum tribularer 8 voc." and "Gaudens gaudebo 8 voc."; Bavarian Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Ms 260, a motet 8 voc. in tablature. *Eitner Q* VIII, p. 35 and Father Altmann Kellner, *Father Benedikt Lechler",* Kremsmünster 1933, pp. 20, 30 and 62.

[86] Appendix No. 52.

[87] H. Federhofer, "Vincenz Jelich" in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* XII (1955).

[88] R. Micheli dedicated his *Musica vaga* to Johann Jakob von Khisl (d. Vienna 1638) who from 1613 till 1619 was Oberstallmeister at the Court in Graz and later Inner-Austrian Kriegspräsident. He was himself an amateur composer, having published in his youth a *Libro primo de Madrigali e Motetti a 4 e 5 voci* (Venice, 1591) which is now lost. For further about the Khisl family, which, as Alfred Einstein remarks, belonged "zu den grossen maezenatischen Häusern am Grazer Hof", cf. O. Wessely, "Tübingensia" in *Die Musikforschung* VII, 1954, pp. 400/401. Claudio Merulo dedicated his *Primo libro de Ricercari* of 1574 jointly to the "adolescentibus" Wolfgang von Stubenberg ("Stubmberg") of the well-known old Styrian family and to Georg von Khisl; cf. Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 31.

[89] "Benigni Lettori . . . & non sia, chi si marauigli, che prima habbia esercitato il Sonare, e poi postomi ad esercitar il Comporre, che il Signor Striggio, il Signor Priuli, il Signor Valentini, & quasi tutta la miglior scola de "Compositori hanno in tal maniera operato". Cl. Sartori, "*Bibliographia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700",* Florence 1952, p. 305.

[90] Vogel *B* II, 104.

name [91], whose interest in the musical life of the city is to be seen from the fact that Giovanni Croce dedicated his three 8-part masses (23rd May, 1596 and printed in the same year), to Cardinal Lorenzo Priuli, the Patriarch of Venice [92], and likewise the musician of San Marco, Leonardo Simonetti, addressed his anthology *Ghirlanda sacra scielta da diversi eccellentissimi compositori* of 1625, (which incidentally contained two motets by Giovanni Priuli) to Leonardo Priuli, "Provinciale di terra Santa & commissario generale del Monastero dei Reverendi Padri Carmelitani di Venetia" [93]. Simonetti is presumably to be identified with the choir boy of the same name in the Graz court chapel (1596/7-1609) [94]. It might even be possible, therefore, that the entry of the Graz, and later Vienna, Hof-organist, Alessandro Tadei, into the Carmelite monastery in Venice was arranged by Giovanni Priuli through his (supposed) connection with the Venetian Priulis [95].

Giovanni Priuli has been more fortunate that Valentini, in that copies of his early works — three books of madrigals (5 voices), which were published in Venice between 1604 and 1612 — have come down to us. The dedication of the first, to Donna Livia Feltria della Rovere, Duchess of Urbino, ("... Mi degni d'esser annoverato frà gli humilissimi suoi certi servitori") seems to point to the fact that he spent part of his early career in her service [96]. A further connection with the Duchy of Urbino is to be found in the dedication of his *Missae quatuor, sex, et octo vocibus* of 1624 to Pope Urban VIII. It is true that the Duchy was only annexed to the Papal Provinces after the death of Francesco Maria II della Rovere in 1631, but the Pope had been recognised as his successor as early as 1623, after the death of the young prince [97]. Otherwise the dedication is very hard to explain, as Urban VIII was a supporter of the French, and repeatedly took a stand against the Emperor Ferdinand II. (Here we might also note that the Graz alto, Ippolito Bonani (from 1611/12), was a native of Urbino) [98]. The second book of madrigals was dedicated to Signora Fulvia De Rossi and the third to Roberto Obizzi. Copies of all three books, sometimes the only copy, are to be found in the Landesbibliothek in Kassel,

[91] For details see *Enciclopedia italiana,* Vol. 28. Rome 1935, pp. 253/254.

[92] F. X. Haberl, "Ergänzungen z. bibliographischen Skizze über Giovanni Croce" in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch,* XIV, 1899, p. 144.

[93] Eitner *Bg,* p. 275. Cf. further G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della biblioteca del liceo musicale di Bologna,* Vol. I, p. 62, Vol. II, p. 25 ff and Vol. IV, p. 140.

[94] H. Federhofer, "Matthia Ferrabosco" in *Musica disciplina,* VII. 1953, p. 210.

[95] W. Jensinghaus, "Alessandro Tadei da Gandria" in *Schweizer musikpädagogische Blätter,* Zürich 1953, No. 16, p. 3.

[96] Vogel *B* II, p. 104.

[97] L. von Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste,* 6th ed. Vol. III, Leipzig 1874, p. 3 ff.

[98] *HK* 1619-II-29.

and it is highly probable that they were brought or sent to the Landgrave Moritz the Scholar by Heinrich Schütz, who was studying in Venice from 1609-1612, although in the inventory of the 14th Feb. 1613, only the first book is listed [99]. Some of the texts of these madrigals were also set by the young Schütz himself [100].

It is not known when Priuli first came into contact with the Court in Graz. [100a]. Even the exact date on which he took over the duties of Kapellmeister as successor to Bianco (d. 1611) is unknown. At the end of May, 1614, the *Vicekapellmeister,* Matthia Ferrabosco, is still referred to as *Hofkapellmeisterambtsverwalter,* but on the 10th Febr. 1615, at the wedding in Graz of the court instrumentalist Ruprecht Pokhstaller (from Uebelbach, near Graz), Priuli acted alongside Matthia Ferrabosco and Giovanni Valentini as witness, and is referred to in the church register as "Ir Durchl(aucht) Capelmaister" [101]. His appointment to that position took place, therefore, between June 1614 and Feb. 1615. Before the former date there is no record of his having been in Graz at all. The statement in Eitner's Q, which is accepted in the fifth edition of Grove D, that he was a musician in Archduke Ferdinand's chapel in Graz as early as 1604 is incorrect. Unfortunately the records in the Graz *Hofkammer* archives throw hardly any light on his activities as *Hofkapellmeister.* In 1616 it was decided to cut down numbers in the Hofkapelle, and Priuli had to name those members who in his opinion could be most easily dispensed with. Pokhstaller was among these, but he was later reinstated, and lived to serve with the Hofkapelle in Vienna. Priuli was diplomat enough, however, to carry this out without earning the hate and enmity of the people concerned [102]. Pleas for allowances and gratuities were all entrusted to him. Thus in 1615 we find him supporting the petition of the departing soprano, Giovanni Andrea Cocciola, then that of Ferrabosco's widow, who, early in 1617, was granted 600 guilders. In 1618 he was pleading the cause of Georg Poss, about to leave for Neisse, to take up his duties as Kapellmeister to the Archduke Karl, while in 1617, and again in 1619, he was vouching for

[99] E. Zulauf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräflich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz des Gelehrten.* Cassel 1902, p. 108.

[100] H. J. Moser, *Heinrich Schütz,* Kassel 1936, pp. 64 and 225 ff. Also Heinrich Schütz, *Collected Works,* Vol. 9, Preface p. Vff.

[100a] Perhaps by intervention of G. Gabrieli, for in the year 1607 Priuli was appointed with Paulo de Savii as assistant to him at San Marco; cf. Fr. Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già capella ducale di San Marco in Venezia,* Venezia 1855, Vol. I, 178, 248.

[101] H. Federhofer, "Matthia Ferrabosco" ... p. 212.

[102] Appendix No. 40. Ruprecht Pokhstaller is mentioned as being still among the court trumpeters in Vienna in 1643. Cf. A. Koczirz, "Exzerpte aus Wiener Hofmusikakten" in *StMw* I, p. 280. Appendix 41 and 42.

the alto Canzian Cividino of Goerz, and in 1618 the preceptor of the choir boys, Paolo Paganini [103]. He was present as the Archduke's representative and as a witness at the marriages of the Graz Hofmusiker Ruprecht Pokhstaller (to Magdalena Eisenprukher, as mentioned above, on 10th Feb. 1615), Heinrich Kolb (to Eva Rosina Christian on 19th Oct., 1615, along with Ferrabosco and Bontempo) [104], Michelangelo Rizzio (to Catharina Grosser on 26th Jan. 1616) [105], Canzian Cividino (to Maria Ferrabosco on 3rd May, 1616) [106], Alessandro Tadei (to Delfina Datelli on 2nd May, 1617) [107], Giovanni Sansoni (to Susanne Leobnegg on 16th April, 1619, see below) and Balthasar Pernstainer (to Ursula Henerbergerin on 26th Feb. 1620) [108]. All of which ceremonies — save the wedding of Sansoni, which took place in the Hof- and Jesuitenkirche — were celebrated in the Stadtpfarrkirche. In 1617 he accompanied the Archduke Ferdinand to his coronation in Prague, and secured a reasonable coverage of expenses for all the musicians who took part in the journey. In Pressburg he found a pupil for the Graz court musician Antonio Vigasi, namely Ertman Fabricius, who later became a violinist in the Imperial chapel in Vienna [109]. Then, as we already know, both Priuli and Giovanni Sansoni declared themselves willing to continue the instruction of Paul Rausch, Georg Poss's stepson [110]. Rausch was later an instrumentalist in the Imperial Hofkapelle in Vienna, where he remained until his death in 1641 [111]. Ferdinand's election to the title of Holy Roman Emperor, which took place in Frank-

[103] Paolo Paganini was a son of the Innsbruck Hofmusikus Alfonso Paganini; he was discharged from the Court in Munich in 1610 with a gratuity of ten guilders. On 8 April 1620 and 4 Oct. 1620 we learn from the register of deaths that he lost two children in Graz; cf. Appendix No. 37 and W. Senn, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and *KmJb* IX, 1894, p. 66.

[104] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of marriages, Vol. I, fol. 33. Kolb is also to be found as an Imperial trumpeter in Vienna in 1636. Cf. P. Nettl, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 71.

[105] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of marriages, Vol I, fol. 38.

[106] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, fol. 47. Further about Cividino in H. Federhofer, "Zur Musikpflege der Jesuiten in Graz im 17. Jahrhundert" in *Aus Archiv und Chronik,*" 1949, p. 129f. He married a daughter of the Vicekapellmeister Matthia Ferrabosco and is to be found in 1630 still with the Imperial Hofmusikern in Vienna. Cf. Appendix No. 14-16.

[107] H. Federhofer, "Alessandro Tadei" in *Musica disciplina.* VI, 1952, pp. 115-131.

[108] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of marriages, Vol. I, fol. 216. Pernstainer was a son of the Hofkoch Andreas Pernstainer. His first wife — he was married on 14 July 1613 — was Ester Funckh. *HK* 1611-XI-63 and *HK* 1613-VII-66.

[109] Appendix No. 76.

[110] Appendix No. 60.

[111] L. von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867,* Vienna 1869, p. 57.

furt on 28th Aug. 1619, made Priuli Imperial *Hofkapellmeister*. He was accordingly entered as such in Ferdinand's household ("Gräz, 10 Decembris 1619") with a yearly stipend of 500 guilders [112]. After his Coronation in Frankfurt, Ferdinand returned to Graz for the last time, on 26th Oct, 1619, before moving with his entire Household to Vienna [113]. It seems however that as late as March and May, 1620, certain court musicians were still to be found in Graz. They were too poor to pay the costs of the removal to Vienna [114]. In 1622 Priuli, as head of the court chapel, accompanied the Emperor Ferdinand II to Innsbruck, where the latter was to celebrate his marriage to Anna Eleonore Gonzaga (a daughter of the Duke Vinzenzo of Mantua), to whom Priuli's last known published work, *Delicie musicali* (1625) [115] was dedicated. He was also present, along with Francesco Compagnolo (Campagnolo), at the Reichstag which was held in the same year in Oedenburg (Sopron) in Hungary, as we learn from a letter dated 23rd July 1622 from "Edembourg" to Ferdinando, Duke of Mantua, to whom he had dedicated his *Musiche concertate* which appeared in that year, and which he had wanted to present to the Duke personally. The Reichstag lasted longer than he had reckoned however, and so he was prevented from carrying out his plan [116]. He signs the letter "Giovanni de Prioli", and the name is also spelt that way in the works printed in 1618. In the later official records, however, he is still referred to as "Priuli" [117]. Nothing is known about the last years of his life, although the archives in Vienna may still yield something. According to Koechel, he died in 1629 [118].

Priuli himself tells us (see above) that his first works were secular. The series began with the 5-part madrigals of 1604, and till 1625 four further

[112] *Ibid,* p. 129; Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Cod. Vindob. 8102. The two precise dates which are missing in Köchel are to be found on fol. 47.

[113] F. Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz,* Vol. I, Graz 1928, p. 115.

[114] Appendix No. 41 and 79.

[115] W. Senn, *op. cit.,* p. 221. Copies were to be found in the Bavarian court chapel and in Hall (Tyrol). Cf. J. C. Kerll, *Augewählte Werke.* I. T. Introd. and edit. by A. Sandberger *DTB* II, 2, LXXXIV and W. Senn, *Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol,* Innsbruch 1938, p. 335. His "Sacri cantiones 9 p." (Sacrarum cantiones . . . in duas partes 1618-1619) were also at Hall.

[116] A. Einstein, "Italienische Musik u. italienische Musiker am Kaiserhof u. an d. erzherzoglichen Höfen in Innsbruck und Graz", in *StMw* XXI, Vienna 1934, p. 50. Eitner's question mark after "Edemburg" has already been answered by Einstein. W. Senn, *op. cit.,* p. 228, assumes erroneously "Edinburgh". Cf. A. Bertolotti, *Musici alla Corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII,* Milan, p. 101.

[117] Eitner *Q* VIII, p. 71, 72; Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv, Registratur E* 1622, Vol. 699, fol. 557: "Giovani di Priuli per Notturft Papier zuemachung der buecher für die Musica". 20 Dec. 1622.

[118] L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* p. 56.

collections appeared. The third collection, with the division "Di due maniere, L'una per voci sole, L'altra per voci & istromenti", and all "con Partitura", namely with an instrumental bass-part, are already vocal *concerti.* The last two secular collections, *Musiche concertate,* lib. 4, Venetia 1622 (of which only the alto and continuo parts are preserved) and the *Delicie musicali,* Venetia 1625, also belong to this form. A. Einstein gives two valuable excerpts [119]. These works show Priuli as the exponent of the splendid polyphonic vocal concerto, a form into which, however, monody could still be introduced to secure contrast. The form is free and fluid, and the transition from many voice parts to few is effected quite naturally and without any formal scheme. In the facility of expression and inventiveness, the influence of the canzonetta is to be clearly marked. To Einstein must really go the credit for drawing attention to the value and importance of these madrigals, which seem to have been so highly esteemed by Heinrich Schütz. It is true that Priuli is not an innovator like Monteverdi, but nevertheless, he is "one of the liveliest musicians of the first half of the seventeenth century" [120].

Leaving aside the madrigals, the rest of his work remains virtually unexplored. One might assume, as he began his career as an instrumentalist, that his composition would also have been largely instrumental. Yet as far as we know only four 6-part, one 7-part, five 8-part canzone and two 8-part sonatas are extant as examples of Venetian music at the time of Gabrieli [121]. Much more of his religious vocal music remains. The first work to come down to us, a 7-voice motet, is in a score dated 1599, which also contains two motets by Georg Poss. Otherwise few manuscripts are extant (a 16-part mass, some motets, three Salve Reginas and one Litany), but from the period 1618-1624 no less than five printed collections of his compositions are known: two books of motets (1618, 1619), a book of psalms (8 voices) dedicated in 1621 to King Philip IV of Spain, and two books of masses (both 1624). Each of these printed compositions is written with an instrumental bass. Finally, in addition to one madrigal, there are some vocal concertos with continuo which appeared in anthologies between 1610 and 1672 [122]. In short, the situation concerning sources of sacred music might be said to be very favourable. Among these religious *concerti*

[119] "Italienische Musiker u. das Kaiserhaus 1567-1625". Revised by A. Einstein. Vienna 1934 = *DTÖ,* Vol. 77. There was also a copy of the *Delicie musicali* at the Court in Munich.

[120] A. Einstein, "Italienische Musik . . .", *op. cit.,* p. 48ff. *The Italian Madrigal,* Vol. II, Princeton 1949, p. 859f.

[121] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 241, add to this a *Kirchensonate* in Salzburg, Domchor (information Dr. O. Wessely, Wien).

[122] Eitner *Bg,* p. 794/5.

the five that appear in the *Parnassus* take on a special importance as they were the first works of this kind by Priuli to be published. As is demonstrated below, they are among the most valuable and progressive creations of early religious monody and show that, to a certain extent, Priuli had made the aims of the Florentines his own. The fact that the compositions with more voice parts by far outnumber those with few must of course be ascribed to the demands which Ferdinand's Court made upon his talents.

After Priuli, the most important member of the Graz court chapel was Giovanni Valentini. According to A. Liberati he was born in Venice and a note in the obituary lists of the City of Vienna, which were commenced in the year 1648, allows us to form an idea of his age. "1649 April 30. Der edl gestrennge Herr Johann Vallenthin kays. Rath unnd Capelmaister in sein hauss am Khollmarkh ist an stain beschaut alt 66 Jahre". He must have been born therefore in 1582 or 1583 [123]. J. G. Walther states that Valentini, organist to King Sigismund III of Poland, published motets for 4, 5, and 6 voices in Venice in 1611. He presumably based his assertion on information contained in this print, which today seems to have been lost [124]. Chybinski on the other hand makes no mention of Valentini in his *Dictionary of the Musicians of Old Poland* [125]. Nevertheless, Walther's claim is quite plausible, as Valentini, who was recruited to the Graz court chapel in 1614 (possibly in Vienna) is expressly described as *Kammerorganist* from Poland [126]. We have already mentioned the close connection between the Courts of Graz and Poland, Sigismund III having successively married two sisters of Ferdinand [127]. This would readily account for Valentini's engagement with the Court in Graz, and large gratuities payed to him as early as 1614 bear obvious testimony to

[123] For this information I am indebted to the officials of the Archives of the City of Vienna. 12 March 1955. — A. Liberati writes to O. Persapegi: "... e si vede chiaramente, ch dà gran Prencipi Oltramontani sono chiamati, e bene stipendiati i Musici Italiani per fare risplendere con ogni maggior' esquisitezza i loro Chori, e Concerti Musici; come à mio tempo erano viuenti appresso la felice memoria dell'-Augustissimo Ferdinando Terzo Giouanni Valentini Veneziano, della famosa Schola de'Gabrielli, Pietro Verdina, ed'Antonio Bertali Veronesi, discepoli di Stefano Bernardi, eccellenti Compositori ed'altri Sonatori e Cantanti celebri, ecc." See G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna.* Vol. III. Bologna 1893, 180. Fétis *B* assumes Valentini was a Roman, presumably because he confused him with Francesco Valentini.

[124] Walther L., p. 624; Gerber (*NTL.*, IV, p. 421) also describes him as organist to Sigismund III.

[125] A. Chybinsky, *Solownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800.* Krakau 1949.

[126] Appendix No. 70.

[127] Cf. also my essay "Ein Beitrag zur Biographie von Giovanni Francesco Anerio" in *Die Musikforschung* II, 1949, p. 210ff.

Ferdinand's regard for him [128]. To Ferdinand was dedicated the *secondo libro de madrigali* (1616), and to his brother, the Archduke Karl, the *Missae concertatae* (1617) and *Salmi, Hinni, Magnificat, Antifone, Falsibordoni et Motetti concertati a 1, 2, 3 & 4 voci* (1618), both of which were again published in Venice [129].

The latter dedications are probably accounted for by Ferdinand's visit to the episcopal residence in Neisse (Silesia) in 1617, in which Valentini also took part. The bishop's court organist, Urban Vielhawer from Hohenhaw speaks in connection with this visit of that "Clavicymbalum universale, seu perfectum" as Michael Praetorius calls it, which was probably constructed by Jacques Buus in Vienna and which in 1613 left the possession of Rudolf II's *Kammerorganist* in Prague, Carl Luyton, coming to the Residence at Neisse, where it was still to be found in 1660 [130]. It had 77 keys for the four octaves from C to c''', and Vielhawer quotes Valentini, "chamber organist to Ferdinand II and illustrious virtuoso" as never having seen such an ingenious instrument in all Italy [131]. In the register of the Imperial Household, dated "Gräz, 10. Decembris 1619",

[128] Appendix No. 71-73.

[129] Vogel *B*; Eitner *Q;* The dedication of the last-mentioned work (1618) was ascertained from what seems to be the only surviving copy in the Library at Kremsmünster.

[130] A. Koczirz, "Zur Geschichte des Luython'schen Klavizimbels" in *SIMG.* IX, pp. 565ff.; further A. Smijers, "Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543-1619 (III part)" in *StMw* VIII, p. 204f. M. Prätorius, *Syntagma II* (de organographia). Republished in Kassel 1929, p. 64ff.

[131] Vienna, *Hofkammer-Archiv, Musikerfaszikel* W 22. Urban Vielhawer's report of 1660 on the Luython Klavizimbel. "Der ander bericht von Urbano Vielhawer, Ihr Hochfürstl. Dchrl. Ertzhertzog Carl: von Oesterreich, damals cammerorgenist. Nachdem diesser kunstreicher instrument flügel (oder clauicimbel), welcher in gantz Europa nit zu finden ist, bestehet in 29 gelbe vndt 48 schwartze clauir(claves). Wie auch Joann Valentini Ihr Maytt.: Ferdinandi 2di cammerorgenist, vndt vornehmer virtuos vndt musicus damals a° 1617. mit Ihr Maytt. allhier in Neyss gewesen, solchen kunstreichen flügel gesehen, auff dem semithonibus (!) geschlagen, vndt bekannt hat, dass er solchen kunstreichen(der 7 semithon instrument) flügel in gantz Italia nit gesehen hat. Derohalben weil solcher clauicimbel bey ühr alten Röm: Kayssern ist in dero cammermusica gebraucht worden, vndt von Ihr Dchrl. Ertzherzogen Carolo von Oesterreich a° 1613. gekaufft, vndt pro 100 ducaten bezalt worden, alss wollen Ihr Höchfürst. Dchrl. belieben lassen, solchen instrument wiederumb zue dero hochlöbl. ertzhauss Oesterreich cammermusica zu gebrauchen vnd abholen zue lassen: alldieweil noch im leeben Ihr Höchfürstl.: Dchrl.: seeligen Ertzherzog Carl: gewessener cammerorgenist Vrbano Vielhawer von Hohenhaw, welcher allen bericht kan geben, die semithon zu stimmen, zu zihen, vnterweissen vndt zu gebrauchen, selber abzuführen (oder aber auch dero cammerorgenisten) abfordern lassen, zue dero gnädigsten gefallen gestellet haben wöllen. . . . Urbanuss Vielhawer von Hohenhaw". Given from Koczirz and Smijers; cf. note 131.

Valentini is listed as Imperial court organist to Ferdinand II (whom he followed to Vienna, along with all the other members of the Household), with a stipend of 360 guilders and a dress allowance of 28 guilders, while Alessandro Tadei and Alessandro Bontempo are put down as receiving only 264 guilders [132]. Two years later he dedicated his second collection of masses (Venice, 1621) to the Styrian Prince Ulrich von Eggenberg, the powerful counsellor to the Emperor. The fact that this book was also published in Venice (15th June, 1621) is an indication that he never lost touch with that city [133]. A further and extremely large gratuity of 8000 guilders was granted to him instead of an estate, Kielmannsegg, which he seems to have wanted. This sum, which he received on 18th Sept. 1623, shows us that he continued to enjoy his sovereign's full favour, and it is therefore understandable that, after the death of Giovanni Priuli in 1629, he should succeed to his position as *Hofkapellmeister*. Either's contention that he became *Vicekapellmeister* in 1629 or 1630, only later becoming *Hofkapellmeister,* is founded upon an erroneous interpretation of the facts as reported by Koechel. However, it is indeed more than likely that he was fulfilling some of the duties of *Hofkapellmeister* before Priuli's death, as he describes himself, in a sonnet of his own composition in Tarquinio Merula's *Satiro e Corisca* (Venice, 1626), as Imperial *Kapellmeister* [135]. He married in 1627, receiving from the Emperor a silver jug valued at 165 guilders [136]. In the same year he was given 150 guilders towards fetching a singer from Genoa, and eight years later, in 1635, he was to receive over 500 guilders "zu Verehrung ainer pollnischen Singerin" (presumably an Italian lady at the Polish Court) [137]. It was the general custom to make such gifts through the Kapellmeister or through his representative. In 1630 he received a large present of money himself, and in 1632 a further grant of 300 guilders towards the studies of his sons Domenico and Pietro [138]. When Ferdinand

[132] L. von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867.* Vienna 1869, p. 129.

[133] For further about this book cf. my essay "Zur Chiavetten-Frage" in *Anzeiger d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss.,* Year 1952, p. 148f.

[134] A. Koczirz, *Exzerpte . . .* I, 1913, p. 301f.; L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* pp. 56, 58 and 117, and Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., Cod. Vindob. 8102, fol. 47.

[135] Eitner *Q* X, p. 23.

[136] "*Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Sammlungen d. Kaiserhauses.*" Vol. 29, Vienna 1910/11, Regest 19781: "1627. Kaiser Ferdinands II. Hofzahlmeister Aloisio Forno stellt für ein dem Grafen Leonhard Helfried von Meggau zu verrichtung aines hochzeitpraesent ihrer Khais. maj. capelmaistern herrn Johann Valentin eingehändigtes giesspeckh und Khanten im Gewichte von 8½ Mark 165 Gulden 45 Kreuzer in Ausgabe. Hofzahlamtsrechnung 1629, fol. 353-354."

[137] Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv, Registratur* 1629, fol. 606 and 1635, fol. 171v.

[138] Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv, Gedenkbuch* Vol. 171, fol. 126: "Wir Ferdinand

II died, on 15th Feb. 1637, Valentini was not discharged, although Ferdinand III, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, already had a *Hofkapellmeister* in his household in the person of Pietro Verdina who, as from the 1st April, 1637, till his death in July, 1643, had to be content with the position of Imperial *Vicekapellmeister*. According to A. Liberati, Verdina, like Antonio Bertali, was a native of Verona and a pupil of Steffano Bernardi [139]. It can be assumed that Pietro Verdina is identical with "Peter Francesco Värdi (Verdi, Verdina)", mentioned as being a singer in the Kapelle of Ferdinand II in 1619 because the former is named in an entry concerning a gratuity given to him in 1635 as a former *Hofmusikus* of Ferdinand II and then *Hofkapellmeister* to his son, the future Emperor Ferdinand III [140]. This latter position Verdina had occupied since 1630 [141]. P. Nettl has already shown in the archive reports which he has published just how badly Verdina bore his position as Valentini's subordinate, how he strove to obtain the latter's position, and how, when these endeavours failed, he tried — equally unsuccessfully — to have his own title changed [142]. In a list of the court musicians for the year 1637 already published by Koczirz, which gives us a list of the members under Ferdinand III, Valentini heads the list with a quarterly stipend of 380 guilders, while Pietro Verdina is listed without any special title as "Instrumentist und Trometer" with a quarterly stipend of 180 guilders [143].

Bekennen ... demnach von Unss dem/Titl:/Johann Valentin Capellmeistern in ... Ansehung seiner Unss von vielen Jahren geleisten und noch continuirenden embsigen treuen und gehorsamisten Dienst 12.000 fl. Rhein. zu einer wohlverdienten Gnad verwilligt worden". 12. Sept. 1630. — Graz, Landesregierungsarchiv, Hofkammerakt 1632-V-105: "Extract was jezt khünftig von Anfang dises 1632, ihar aus der Khay. Mayt. gehaimber Camer für die vndterhaltnen Knaben vnd wievil deroselben sein ... zu bezallen ... Für des Herrn Capelmaisters zwen Söhn Costgelt, Preceptor, Wesch, Palbiergelt vnd dergleichen ... 300 fl." Further P. Nettl, "Zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Hofmusikkapelle von 1636-1680", in *StMw.* XVI, 77 and XIX, 40.

[139] See note 123.

[140] Vienna, *Hofkammerarchiv, Gedenkbuch,* Vol. 172, fol. 392: "Ferdinandt. — Demnach wir vnserm gewesten Hofmusico vnd aniezo vnsers frl. geliebten Sohns des zu Hungarn vnd Behaimb Künigs Capelmaistern Petro Verdina wegen seiner vnss ... gelaisten dienst zu etwas ergözligkheit 3000 fl. ... verwilligt ... Wien, 17. August 1635". L. v. Köchel, *op. cit.,* pp. 56/57 and 117 and A. Koczirz, "Exzerpte"... in *StMw* I, p. 302; also La Mara: "Briefe alter Wiener Hofmusiker", in *Musikbuch aus Österreich.* VI (1909), p. 13. A "Pietro Verda, Italus" entered the grammar class of the Jesuit University in Graz in 1597. Register of the University of Graz, Ms 58, fol. 14v in the university library.

[141] P. Nettl, *op. cit.,* XVI, p. 73.

[142] Ibid.

[143] A. Koczirz: "Excerpte"... *op. cit.* I, p. 285. This Kapelle list is undated. However it lists the member under Ferdinand III as the instrumentalists Orazio

As A. Koczirz points out [144], apart from his normal musical activities, Valentini also inherited Priuli's task of submitting all the petitions and demands of the *Hofmusiker* to Ferdinand himself. He was also responsible for refunding travelling expenses to the musicians, as for example to those "so auss Italia zur Hofstatt geraisst" and to a "muenich (Moench) aus Venedig als musico" [145]. In 1648 he was entrusted with 200 guilders, the payment of several musicians of St. Stephan's Cathedral, Vienna, who had been serving temporarily (4 months) in the Royal Kapelle of Ferdinand IV, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand III [146]. Valentini seems to have enjoyed the highest reputation as a teacher. He taught Ferdinand III (born Graz, 13. VII. 1608, d. Vienna 2. IV. 1657), the first Graz-born composer to be known by name, and also Johann Kaspar Kerll, later to become *Hofkapellmeister* in Munich [147]. It would also seem that he had dealings with the Spanish Augustinian monk Bartolomeo de Selma e Salaverde, who was a bassoonist with the Archduke Leopold from 1626-1628, as he is mentioned (along with the Munich *Hofkapellmeister* Giacomo Porro) in the preface to the Spaniard's "Canzoni, Fantasie et Correnti" of 1638 [148]. Valentini died at the end of April (probably 25th) 1649 in his rooms in the Kohlmarkt in Vienna at the age of 66 [149]. In the same year his dependants were granted 1200 guilders and his widow 2875 guilders [150]. His will, dated in Vienna 12th Dec. 1648, has been preserved [151] in which he asks to be buried in the church of St. Michael, close to his home and to the Hofburg. There a hundred masses were to be read for his soul. He also willed sums of money to the Franciscan and Capucin churches. We learn further that he was twice married. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had five children : Francesco (to whom he left a golden medal which had been

Rubini and Johann Preuss, the descant singers Ottavio Ossacro and Benignato Ferrari, and the singers Margarete Catania and Lucia Rubini, all of whose names appear in the list, all joined the Imperial Kapelle after 1st. April 1637. And as the two ladies both left the Kapelle on 31st. Aug. 1637, the list could only have been compiled between these two dates. Cf. L. v. Köchel, *op. cit.*, p. 60. For more about Verdina cf. P. Nettl. *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 74ff.

[144] A. Koczirz: „Excerpte"... *op. cit.*, p. 291ff; also La Mara, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[145] P. Nettl, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 72.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[147] Cf *MGG*, article on Ferdinand III. (Column 38). Misprint Giuseppe Valentini instead of Giovanni Valentini; Johann Kaspar Kerll, "Ausgewählte Werke." Part I, edited and introd. by A. Sandberger *DTB* II, 2, p. LXXXIV.

[148] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.*, p. 363f; also given in *MfM* 16, 1884, p. 34; for more on Bartolomeo de Selma cf. W. Senn, *op cit.*, p. 219.

[149] As note 123; L. v. Köchel, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 and 117.

[150] P. Nettl, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 82.

[151] Giovanni Valentini's will is to be found in the Archives of the City of Vienna under No. 5040/17saec.

presented to him by the Emperor in Pressburg); Domenico; Susanna ("monacha nel monasterio della Regina"); Caecilia (already dead) and Giacomo. His second wife, Cattarina Giovanella (Giovanelli) bore him four children: Maria, Pietro, Sebastiano and Ferdinando. His collection of music he left to Ferdinand III: "Supplico poi humilissimamente Sua M(aes)tà Ces(ar)ea l'Imperatore Ferdinando Terzo a degnarsi per sua Clemenza, di riceuere in testimonio della fideliss(i)ma et humiliss(i)ma mia seruitù, tutte le mie musiche tanto stampate, quanto manuscritte. Supplicando parimente la solita benignità dell M(aes)tà Sua, a degnarsi di far prontamente pagare alla sopranominata mia moglie Cattarina, gli auanzi, che mi si deuono de miei salarij di trenta tre anni, che già seruo a questa sua Augustissima Casa, asieme anco con gl' imprestito fatto gl'anni passati di fiorini cinquecento". As guardians to his children he named his relatives („miei cognati") Giovanni Battista Cazani and Christoforo Gioannelli. The seven witnesses who signed this document were all Imperial musicians: Agostino Argomenti (bass), Christoforo Rossi (tenor) Gioan Felice Sances (later to become Hofkapellmeister), Benedetto Sarti (bass), Camillo Capello (instrumentalist), Burkhard Kugler (violinist) and Benedetto Riccioni (bass).

As Giovanni Rovetta states in the foreword to his "Salmi concertati" of 1626, Valentini began his career in the same way as Priuli, as an instrumental virtuoso, only later turning to composition [152]. His output was considerable: masses, motets, hymns, Magnificats, Litanies, and other religious works alongside madrigals, chamber duets, canzone and sonatas. He seems to have begun as an instrumental composer; as early as Feb. 14th 1613 a Kassel inventory lists *Canzoni a 4. 5. 6. 7. et 8. voici, di Giovanni valentini organista, libro terzo* [153]. Three such collections must therefore have been published by that time. Unfortunately they, like the motets for 4, 5 and 6 voices which were published in Venice in 1611, cannot be found [154]. At least one book of madrigals from this period must have been lost too, for the oldest set by Valentini alone that can be traced today is the "secondo libro de madrigali" (Venice, G. Vincenti, 1616), which was dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand in Graz on 20th Sept. 1616 [155]. The only earlier vocal compositions we have are the five concerti with basso continuo in the "Parnassus". Unless Ms copies of his earlier works come to light, therefore, we shall be forced to write off virtually the whole of his first period as lost. His middle period

[152] Cf. note 88.
[153] E. Zulauf, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
[154] Walther L.
[155] Vogel *B.*

fares better. A number of books — unfortunately not always complete — have survived from the years 1615-1625. The *Missae concertatae* (Venice, 1617), and the *Salmi, hinni* . . . (Venice, 1618) which were dedicated to Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Karl, Bishop of Breslau, have already been mentioned. In 1619 appeared the *Musiche concertate* for 6-10 voices, the only complete copy of which is to be found in the former Lobkowitz Library at Raudnitz [156]. This was dedicated on 15th July 1619 to the Archbishop Ferdinand of Cologne and on the title-page Valentini describes himself as "Organista della Sacra Regia Maesta di Ungheria, Boemia, etc." i.e. the Archduke Ferdinand, who in 1617 was crowned King of Bohemia and, in 1618, King of Hungary. We have no knowledge of anything being printed in 1620, but in the following year there were three collections: *Missae quattuor* (Venice, 1621), the *Musiche di camera, libro quarto* (Venice, 1621) and the *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a 7 chori concertati con le trombe* (Vienna, 1621) [157]. The last-mentioned volume, unfortunately lost, presumably contains the religious compositions which Valentini wrote for Ferdinand's Coronation [158]. The very number of voices engaged — a forerunner of the 48-part Festival Mass which Orazio Benevoli composed for the consecration of the Cathedral in Salzburg — leads to this conclusion. Of his later period only three works published in Venice have come down to us: the chamber duets *Musiche a 2 voci* of 1622, the fifth book of madrigals, and the *Sacri concerti a 2-5 voci* of 1625. In addition, according to Schmidl, the catalogue for the year 1639 of Alessandro Vincenti, who succeeded his father Giacomo as music printer and publisher in 1619, lists *Canzoni da sonar* by Valentini. These have also been lost. However, it is hardly likely that these were the only productions of this period, for Valentini did not die until 1649. We must therefore assume that the rest have sufferred the same fate as the works of his early period, although it should not be forgotten that the Thirty Years War had a crippling effect upon book and music production, and we are not therefore entitled to imagine that there would have been too many of them in any case. Among the Ms compositions that have come down to us, the sonatas, with their harmonic experiments, (one of which H. Riemann reprinted), have attracted attention [159]. In spite of their harmonic-

[156] P. Nettl, "Musicalia d. Fürstlich Lobkowitzschen Bibliothek in Raudnitz," in P. Nettl, *Beiträge z. böhmischen u. mährischen Musikgeschichte.* Brünn 1927, p. 65.

[157] Eitner *Q;* Vogel *B;* Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 274.

[158] Only two part books (Tenor II chori and Tromba) seem to have survived. Eitner states erroneously that these are to be found in the Royal Library of the Academy of Music in Stockholm. Where they now are I have not been able to ascertain. They are neither in Paris nor in the Nat.-Bibl. in Vienna.

[159] "Enharmonische Sonate a 5" in Riemann's *Alte Kammermusik.*

tonal nature, however, they are largely lacking in harmonic-functional tension and developement, offering instead long series of sequences and echoes. If their harmonic daring can be traced back, as A. Koczirz assumes, to the positive organ that arrived in Graz (according to Praetorius) about 1615 [160], the question of their date of composition is answered. But even if it is objected that this tendency towards experiment and melodic and harmonic innovations in music was quite general in the first half of the seventeenth century, the fact remains that Valentini was undoubtedly one of the first to introduce the Italian canzona and sonata into Austria and played a large part in their cultivation. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that the greater part of his output in this genre has been lost. To the list of instrumental compositions given by E. H. Meyer may now be added two canzone in the abbey library of Kremsmuenster (Ms L. 13) [161] and trio sonatas (in Cod. Rost) in the Bibliothèque National in Paris. The rest of his Ms works are almost exclusively religious and are listed in Eitner Q. In the scores L 13 (finished 1639) and L 14 (1644-49) in the library at Kremsmuenster, which were written out by Father Benedikt Lechler and whose contents were made known by Father Altmann Kellner, the greater part consists of works for double choir or for several choirs. This library furthermore houses his masses "Fugiamus" and "Non erit finis" [162].

[160] A. Koczirz, *op. cit.*, p. 570 and M. Praetorius, *Organographia.* Repr. 1929, p. 66: "Ich bin auch von einem fürnemen Musico zu Cassel / Christophoro Cornet berichtet worden / dass er in Italia dergleichen Instrument oder Spinett (wie es doselbsten genennet wird) bey einem Italiàner, mit Namen Iulius Caesar gesehen habe.

Welcher darneben angezeigt / dass keine Nation gefunden werde / die da reiner vnd perfecter nach solchen justificirten Instrumenten, Clavicymbeln oder Spinetten singen köndte / als Graeci Musici, deren derselben zeit vier Vocales an dem Ort verhanden gewesen.

Vor etlichen wenig jahren ist auch ein herrlich Positiff an den Ertzhertzogischen Hof naher Grätz aus Italia gebracht worden / darinnen gleichergestalt alle Semitoniae doppelt vnd vollnkömlich zu finden / vnd ein trefflich Werck seyn sol."

The Julius Caesar mentioned above is presumably the Giulio Cesare Rossi (Rosini) who joined the Graz court chapel in 1604. He is referred to simply as 'Julio Caesare' in the Hofstaat of 1611 (given in *Musica disciplina* VI, p. 130) and also several times "Julius Caesar" in the Graz *Hofkammerarchiv* records. HKR 1606, Vol. 21, fol. 237: "Pfennigmaister solle Julium Caesarem, musicum 60 Taller gnadengelt bezallen." He died in Graz in 1616 and was buried there on 16th May. Graz Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut, register of deaths I, 100.

[161] Altmann Kellner, *Father Benedikt Lechler. Ein Meister der Musik aus der Zeit des 30-jährigen Krieges;* offprint from *Jahresberichte* (1933-36) *des Obergymnasiums der Benediktiner zu Kremsmünster.* Kremsmünster, 1933, pp. 47 and 62, and in H. J. Moser, *Musiklexikon* (III ed.) Hamburg 1951, p. 1227.

[162] A. Kellner, *op. cit.*, p. 62. The contents of L 13 are: "Veni sponsa Christi a 15" (8 voice-and 7 instrumental parts), "Dixit Dominus a 14," "Lauda Hierusalem

How popular his works were, even after his death, is shown by the fact that in 1667 the manuscript copier Georg Moser was still writing out vespers, antiphons and Litanies for the Vienna *Hofkapelle* [163]. These works must have been from his later period, as were those in the large collection that was once to be found at the Court at Munich, but of which there is no trace today. They are summarily listed in an inventory taken after the death of the Munich *Hofkapellmeister* Giacomo Porro (d. 1656) and might well have been in use even later, as Porro's successor, Johann Kaspar Kerll, was a pupil of Valentini [164]. They may also have been known at the Court in Stuttgart, where, since 1657, the Kapellmeister had been Samuel Capricornus, who was about the same age as Kerll, and who was well acquainted with the musical customs of Vienna. At all events, in a letter of complaint of about 1660 against the Stiftsorganist Philipp Friedrich Boeddecker, he quotes Valentini (alongside Bertali, Rigatti, Rovetta and Monteverdi) as an authority on contrapuntal matters [165]. A. Liberati

a 8", "Magnificat", "Canzon a doi", (Cornetto e Trombon and organ), "Canzon a tre", (two violins, lute and organ); the compositions by Valentini in *L 14* are: "*Haec* est Virgo sapiens a 14", "Dixit Dominus a 20 vel omissis Instrumentis a 8" "De Nativitate Dni (Hodie Chr.) a 3", "Iniquos odio habui a 16" (8 voice- and 8 instrumental parts) "Litaniae concertatae a 5" and "Mensa sacra a 10". Apart from these, in Ser. C, Fasc. 15, No. 715: "Missa fugiamus a 7, 13, 18 o 25" (namely 7 voci concert., 6 Viole non concert., 5 Tromboni non concert., 7 voci in Rip., 1 Violon, 2 Organa) and" Missa non erit finis a 16 o 18" (8 voci concert. ordin., 2 Violini concert., 2 Violette concert., 2 Viole concert., 2 Clarini concert., 2 Trombe concert., non necess.). Thus, while the first mass could be reduced to 7 parts, in the case of the second only the two trombe could be omitted.

[163] Eitner *Q;* for more about Georg Moser cf. P. Nettl, "Zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Hofmusikkapelle von 1636-1680", in *StMw* XVI, p. 74.

[164] *33 Missae, Cantiones, miserere, motecta, Magnificat, partim de Domino Valentino, partim de Piscatore, 1 Litania de Beata Virgine Domini Valentini cum tubis, 29 (Vini none) Cantate uarij del Signore Giovanni Valentini.* Among the "Libri stampati" are listed *Madrigali del Valentini, lib. 7* — presumably his fifth madrigal book of 1625. Priuli is represented by his *Delicie Musicali, lib. 7.* J. K. Kerll, "Ausgewählte Werke". Part I, edited and introd. by A. Sandberger, *DTB* II, 2, LXXXIV.

[165] J. Sittard, "Samuel Capricornus contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker," in *SIMG* III (1901-2), p. 98f. Valentini is also represented by a "Messa Sti Jeronimi à 4 voci. Litanie à 5 voci. Sinfonia a 9 instrumenti" in an undated inventory of the music of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, to whom Johann Kaspar Kerll was organist. As the list includes numerous works by the Emperor Leopold I, it must have been of later date. Cf. A. Koczirz, "Excerpte"... in *StMw* I, 1913, p. 282. In 1646 the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm was entrusted by King Philip IV of Spain with the office of Viceroy of the Netherlands. For more on Kerrl as organist to Leopold Wilhelm cf. A. Koczirz, "Excerpte"... as above, pp. 296/7. According to the accounts of the Hofzahlamt in Vienna, Kerll was granted 300 guilders on 5th Feb. 1652 "zu seiner zurüchrais nacher niederlandt"; cf. P.Nettl, *op. cit.,* Vol. XVII, p. 97.

stresses his subtle feeling for the difference between instrumental and vocal writing [166]. In an inventory of music taken in Hall (Tyrol) in 1669 his works are again well represented [167]. All this throws light upon the popularity which he must have enjoyed among his own and the following generation. And it makes it all the more remarkable that, with the exception of the *Parnassus,* he appears in no other contemporary anthology, although Priuli, in the period between 1610 and 1672 is represented by several religious concerti and also a madrigal [168].

It was Valentini who, through his works with many voice parts and two or more choirs establised and conscientiously developed the achievements of the Gabrieli school in Austria, thereby laying the foundations for that conservatism which was to characterise court music in Vienna in its most diverse forms throughout the whole baroque period. On the other hand, he is just as much an exponent of the concerto for small voice-combinations in the manner of Lodovico Viadana and at the same time, fully aware of the monodic innovations of his contemporaries in Italy. Even though up to the present neither his religious works nor his madrigals have been explored, this observation can be confirmed by the number of voices he employs and the use of basso continuo. He cultivated ecclesiastical monody even in his early period, as his pieces in the *Parnassus* show, and these resemble the 1-4 voice Salmi *hinni* . . . of 1618 and the *Sacri concerti* for 2-5 voices of 1625. But even in his secular output the small voice-combination is well represented. His *Musiche* of 1622 is written exclusively for two voices, and the madrigal collection for 2-5 voices of the previous year bears the modifying title *Musiche da camera,* which is surely the first appearence of the term "da camera" in the history of printed music [169]. Furthermore the 4- and 5-part sonatas show, to quote E. H. Meyer, "wegen ihrer Abseitigkeit und ihres Radikalismus bedeutsame Marksteine für die weitere Entwicklung . . . nach zwei entgegengesetzten Richtungen hin: der harmonisch-klanglichen wie der stimmig-abstrakten", and show every sign of the bold innovator [170]. On the other hand he published in his fifth book of madrigals (1625) three for six voices with the express marking "per cantarsi senza instrumento". It would appear that the newly-devised art-form, the opera, which had already reached the Court at Vienna at this time, did not appeal to him, although his pupil, the Emperor Ferdinand III himself, produced a "drama musicum" in 1649, an allegorical play on

[166] See G. Gaspari, *Catalogo* . . . Bologna, Vol. III, 1893, p. 179.

[167] W. Senn, *Musik, Schule* . . . *in Hall in Tirol,* Innsbruck, 1938, p. 337.

[168] Eitner, *Bg,* pp. 794/5 .

[169] E. Schmitz, *Geschichte d. Kantate u. d. geistlichen Konzerts.* Leipzig 1914, p. 14.

[170] E. H. Meyer, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

heavenly and earthly love [171]. Thus his output will be seen to correspond approximately to that of Giovanni Priuli, whose artistic trend he continued.

Of the lesser Graz composers who are represented in the „Parnassus" by one or two motets, Alessandro Bontempo, Michelangelo Rizzio, and Giovanni Sansoni, the last-mentioned is the most important. Giovanni Sansoni (Samsony, Sambson, Sansone) was one of the most famous cornet-players of his day. According to details in the obituary records of the City of Vienna, he must have been born in 1593 [172]. He is described by Don Romano Micheli (*Musica vaga et artificiosa,* Venetia, 1615, p. 41) as "Musicus di Venezia" [173]. According to his own statement and his patent of nobility (Regensburg 5th January 1623) he arrived at the Court in Graz 1613, terming himself "cornetista" [174]. On 16th April, 1619, he married the oldest "Kammerdienerin" to the Archduke Ferdinand's children, Susanne Leobnegg [175], and in the list of members of Ferdinand's Household for 1619, he appears among the instrumentalists and court trumpeters with a yearly stipend of 240 guilders [176]. In a similar list dated 1637 he is down as "Camerae et Litui Musicus" and heads the list of "Musici Instrumentales" [177]. A second list for that same year, published by Korzirz, but which already shows the arrangement of the Hofkapelle under Ferdinand III, shows that he had been teaching several Kapellknaben („Johann Sansony fuer sich vnnd die Capell-Knaben mo: 247fl. 30kr.") [178]. Just how great a reputation he enjoyed as a teacher can be deduced from the fact that Heinrich Schütz, in his capacity of *Hofkapellmeister* in Dresden, recommended sending choirboys whose voices had changed to Sansoni for further instruction as instrumentalists. Thus it came about that, in 1628, Johann Vierdanck, later cantor in Stralsund and a considerable instrumental composer, arrived in Vienna to study with Sansoni. And in the same way, Friedrich Werner, later chief instrumentalist and court musician to the Elector of Saxony, was with him from ca. 1638-1640. Previously he had been under the tuition of Kaspar Kittel. Werner

[171] cf. Article on Ferdinand III in *MGG.*

[172] See below.

[173] G. Gaspari, *Catalogo* . . . Bologna, Vol. II, 1892, p. 462.

[174] Appendix No. 68 and 69a.

[175] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of marriages, Vol. I, fol. 176; Appendix No. 69. Alongside Priuli the other witness was Dr. Karl Kugelmann, a son of the Graz Hofkapellnotist Georg Kugelmann. For further about him cf. *KmJb* 38 (1954), p. 75.

[176] L. v. Köchel, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[177] Ibid., p. 130. The contention in the article on Antonio Bertali in *MGG* that the "musici instrumentales" meant only "die Spieler der Streichinstrumente" is inaccurate.

[178] A. Koczirz, "Excerpte"... I, p. 285.

brought Sansoni, in addition to his fee, a portrait of the Elector and a golden chain as gifts. The choirboy Gabriel Günther was also sent to Sansoni through Schütz [179]. This connection with the Court in Dresden was kept up by Sansoni till his death. Thus we find the Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony thanking "Unserm sehr lieben Virtuosen Sansoni" in his own hand (the letter is dated 29th March, 1648), for the sending of some compositions with a "picciolo gratiale in testimonio del favor et della gratia che le portiamo" [180]. In the excerpts quoted by A. Koczirz and P. Nettl his name is also mentioned several times in connection with the invention and improvement of wind instruments as well as with the care and teaching of choirboys [181]. La Mara, who quotes a petition of Sansoni to Ferdinand III from the year 1638, contends that he was "maestro de' Concerti" to the Emperor [182]. The bassoonist Giovanni Antonio Bertoli, in the preface to his *Compositioni musicali* of 1645 quotes, alongside that of Francesco Turino, "l'auttorità del Sig. Giouanni Sansonni, nel Faggotto & nel Cornetto, eccellentissimo, & del Sig. Antonio Bertali altretanto valoroso nel Violino" [183]. In June 1648 we find him in Prague [184], but he died in the November (probably 14th) of the same year [185]. The obituary records in the archives of the City of Vienna say of him: "1648 November 15, Der Herr Johann Sambson khays. Cammer Musicuβ ins Hannβ Deichlmanshauβ in der Khärnnerstr. ist am Carthör beschaut alt 55Jahre" [186]. The fact that his widow Susanne was granted the large sum of 6000 guilders by Ferdinand III on the 14th August, 1649 shows clearly how high he stood in the favour of his Emperor [187]. Almost all his works seem to have been lost. Apart from the two concerti for two voices with basso continuo

[179] Heinrich Schütz, "Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften". Ed. by Erich H. Müller. Regenburg 1931, pp. 89, 93, 150, 328, 336. The fact that Friedrich Werner studied with Sansoni from circa 1638/40 and not merely from 1645 is made clear by the funeral oration delivered at his burial; cf. *MfM.* VIII, 1876, p. 5f. Cf. also M. Fürstenau, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. königlich-sächsischen musikalischen Kapelle.* Dresden 1849, p. 80.

[180] La Mara, "Briefe alter Wiener Hofmusiker", in *Musikbuch aus Österreich.* VI, Vienna and Leipzig 1909, p. 14.

[181] A. Koczirz, *op. cit.,* I, p. 300f. and P. Nettl, *op. cit.,* XVI, 1929, pp. 71ff. In the entry-book E 1628, fol. 232, July, in the Archives of the Vienna Hofkammer, we find: "Johan Samsoni Musico per assignation seiner verwilligten gnadt" and further in December 1628, fol. 470: "Joanni Sansoni per Passbrief auf ain Instrument nach Venedig zu schickhen".

[182] La Mara, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

[183] Cl. Sartori, *op. cit.,* p. 394.

[184] P. Nettl, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

[185] L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* pp. 57 and 60.

[186] As note 123.

[187] P. Nettl, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

in the *Parnassus,* only two motets, "Beatus Antonius, con Ritornello a 7" and "Laetentur coeli et exultet terra, a 8 de Sancto Antonio aut alio confessore" are known, and these are in the volume "L 13" in the library at Kremsmünster, which was finished in 1639. Both therefore must have been composed before that time [188].

Alessandro Bontempo, a son of the Archduke's Tanzmeister Ambrosio Bontempo [189], whom we have already mentioned, was probably born in Grado around 1580/85. We can estimate his approximate age from the fact that he was accepted into the second grammar class of the Graz Jesuit University in 1596 [190]. On 9th April, 1607, he became court organist to the Archduke Ferdinand at a stipend of 15 guilders a month alongside Alessandro Tadei, who had been appointed to his post in 1606 at a stipend of 22 guilders a month [191]. There is no proof that he had had the good fortune to study with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice as Tadei had done, and indeed it is highly improbable that he did so, as such an education would surely have been mentioned in the archives of the Graz *Hofkammer,* where his name and that of his father occur so frequently, as does that of Tadei [192]. Further, the fact that his stipend was raised to 22 guilders only in 1614, whereas the younger Tadei had had that from the beginning, goes against this assumption [193]. However we can fairly safely assume that he studied the organ under his versatile father and later under the Graz court organist Francesco Stivori, even if this is nowhere confirmed. He was married on the 15th June 1610 in Gradisca to Julia Campana. The Captain of the Garrison, Franz Formentini, as representative of the Archduke Ferdinand, presented him with a wedding gift valued at 30

[188] Eitner *Q,* VIII, p. 417; Altmann Kellner, *op. cit.,* pp. 15 ff.

[189] Cf. note 10.

[190] His birthplace may be deduced from the parish register of Gradisca, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 3, where he referred to as „Alessandro Bontempo Gratensis". His entry into the Graz Jesuit University is recorded in the Register of the University, Graz, University Library *Ms* 58, fol. 15v. Information recieved from the Parrocchia Archipretale Grado on 18th Feb. 1955 tells us that the name does not occur in the register after 1579. It is therefore quite possible that the word in the Gradisca register should be "Graecensis" instead of "Gratensis". In this case Alessandro Bontempo would have been born in Graz, though hardly before 1586/7, as Ambrosio Bontempo only arrived in Graz at that time. Cf. note 10. The baptismal registers in Graz for the period before 1589 have perished.

[191] Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Innerösterreichische Hofkammerakten 11, *HK* 1607-IV-39. His appointment was effected in spite of the efforts at that time to reduce the Graz Household. The document reveals no further information.

[192] Cf. my essay on "Alessandro Tadei" in *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. VI, 1952, pp. 115 ff.

[193] Appendix No. 10.

guilders [194]. From a petition of the following year we learn that he had been in the service of the Archduke in Graz since he was a boy — certainly as a choirboy [195]. In the oft-mentioned *Hofstaatsverzeichnis* of "10. Decembris, 1619" he appears as a court organist alongside Tadei and Giovanni Valentini with a yearly stipend of 260 guilders [196]. In 1620 he addressed a petition to the Emperor begging for a gratuity and the permission to travel with his father to Friuli [197]. For the next five years he served as Imperial court organist. In Sept. 1625 the Court Treasurer was authorised to pay that part of the gratuity that was due to him on the death of his father [198]. A few months later he died. He was not buried in Vienna however, but in Graz, on 6th Dec. 1625 in the Franciscan Church [199].

Michelangelo Rizzio came from Venice in 1613 as a bass to the Hofkapelle in Graz [200], where, on 26th Jan. 1616, he married Catharina Grosser, whose father, Wolf Grosser, was a member of the Graz City Council [201]. The witnesses at the ceremony were the *Hofkapellmeister,* Giovanni Priuli, and the early monodist Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana. Rizzio is described in the parish register as a "Camer Musicus" of Ferdinand, "von Bressa (Brescia) in Italien", while according to Fétis (who does not however mention the source of his information) he was born in Bergamo [202]. In any case, he came from Lombardy. In 1619 we hear of a petition being granted, whereby he was allowed the free export of corn [203]. He followed Ferdinand, after his election, to Vienna — Köchel mentions him as being on the 1619 *Hofstaatsverzeichnis* under the name Michel Angel Viizi [204] — and the following year the Emperor Ferdinand himself, in a letter to the President of the Inner-Austrian *Hofkammer,* the *Freiherrn* Policarp Scheitt von Hohenberg, drops a reminder about a gratuity which had been accorded to Rizzio, but which he had still not received [205]. After this all trace of him is lost.

[194] Appendix No. 8. His marriage is also recorded in the parish register of Gradisca, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 3.

[195] Appendix No. 9.

[196] Cf. L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* pp. 56 and 129 (after Cod. Vindob. 8102 in the Nat.-Bibl. in Vienna).

[197] Appendix No. 11.

[198] Appendix No. 12.

[199] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of deaths, Vol. I, fol. 151.

[200] Appendix No. 62. *HKR* 1613, Vol. 28, fol. 397v; *HK* 1614-III-15; *HKR* 1614, Vol. 29, fol. 179 and 258; *HK* 1614-IV-29.

[201] Graz, Stadtpfarre z. hl. Blut, register of marriages, Vol. I, fol. 38; *HK* 1616-I-74.

[202] Fétis, *Biographie universelle* .... under "Ricci".

[203] Appendix No. 65.

[204] L. von Köchel, *op. cit.,* pp. 56 and 129.

[205] Appendix No. 66, 67.

Bonometti published his *Parnassus* at a time when there was much activity in the field of religious concertos for small voice-combinations. Over 50 printed books of this genre, beginning with the *100 concerti ecclesiastici a 1-4 voci con il basso continuo* (1602) of Lodovico Viadana have been traced in Italy alone, whereas similar German publications, which begin with Gregor Aichinger's *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1607, had been issued up to that time only sporadically [206]. It would seem though that only one anthology of this kind had appeared before, and this was the *Concerti de diversi . . . Autori a 2-4 voc.* published by Francesco Lucino in 1608. As this work appeared in Milan — where Lucino, like Bonometti, was a musician in the Cathedral — it is hardly possible that Bonometti was unaware of its existence, and it is indeed much more likely that it served to spur him on with the compilation of his own *Parnassus.* Two similar anthologies follwed in 1616: Fabio Constantini's *Selectae Cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum 2-4 voc.* and Georgius Victorinus' *Siren coelestis 2-4 voc.* The fact that, owing to its origin and purpose, the monodic religious concerto literature was much more restricted by tradition than the compositions of the Florentine monodists has often been emphasised, and can be seen from the very forces employed by the composer [207]. By far the greater number of the pieces are for two or more voices. Already in the 100 concerti of Viadana there are only forty for solo voice, while the remaining sixty are for 2-4 voices and the proportion is even larger in the other collections. Thus, of the total 57 motets of the *Parnassus,* there are only 8 for solo voice, whereas there are 23 for two voices (of which almost the half are for canto and basso), 10 for three, 15 for four and one for five [208]. Of the Graz composers, only Priuli and Valentini contributed solo concerti to the Parnassus. Numerically speaking, these two, along with Vincenzo Pellegrini (5 pieces) are the best represented — which is easily understood when one recalls Bonometti's duties in Milan and in Graz and the contact he must have had with these composers in fulfilling them. (Pellegrini was choir-master in Milan Cathedral from 1611-1631, and thus Bonometti's superior). From the 16 pieces by G. Priuli, G. Valentini, G. Poss, A. Bontempo, M. Rizzio and G. Sansoni which are examined here, nine of them have biblical texts, mostly from the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, while

[206] A. Adrio, *Die Anfänge des geistlichen Konzerts,* Berlin 1935, p. 135ff. On p. 10, Adrio erroneously describes the "Parnassus" (Ref. Eitner *Q*, Vol. II, p. 118) as having been lost.

[207] See F. Blume, *Das monodische Prinzip in d. protestantischen Kirchenmusik.* Leipzig, 1925, p. 64ff. A. Adrio, *op. cit.,* among others.

[208] Eitner *Q* II, p. 118, erroneously ascribes 4 concerti to R. Ballestra instead of two. On the other hand, the two anonymous concerti are not mentioned by Eitner nor by Gaspari in his Catalogue.

the rest have words based either on the Bible or on liturgical texts or else they are free, sometimes rhymed, baroque religious poems. The nearest approach to the genuine affect-determined monody is the concerto for solo alto in D-Dorian by Giovanni Priuli, "Adoramus te, Domine Jesu Christe", which was intended for use after Christmas. The text, based upon the Gloria and upon Luke II, 24 is concerned with the incarnation of Christ and is divided into five sections as set out below:

I. Adoramus te, Domine Jesu Christe, nuper natum ex matre virgine Maria —
II. reclinatum in praesepio et vagentem propter nostra scelera —
III. et gratias agimus tibi, quia propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem carnem sumere dignatus es —
IV. Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
V. Alleluia.

I and II consist of adoration, the announcement of the birth of Christ, and a confession of sins; III and IV express praise and thanksgiving. Priuli divides the message of the Divine Birth between I and II in order to attain sections of approximately equal length. With the exception of I, which closes in the relative key of F major, all the other sections end in the tonic. They are divided by short instrumental interludes; nevertheless Priuli does attain an overall unity of form. As far as the structure of the individual sections is concerned, they correspond largely to the stipulations of the Florentine monodists. A splitting up of the text is avoided; it is rather a highly expressive recitative, only seldom interrupted by pauses. Altogether there are only three places where a phrase is repeated, and in two cases this is only in order to preserve the form of the piece. "Propter nostra scelera" and "Bonae voluntatis" are repeated at the interval of a second in order to form a more definite close, thus throwing I and II and subsequently III and IV more closely together, while the repetition of the word "Gloria" at the beginning of IV, in the same key but with a different rhythm in the bass, does much to increase the expressiveness of the passage. There are no other repetitions. That in itself constitutes one of the chief differences between this and the other pieces in the collection, in whose structure sequences of shorter phrases and motifs closely following the text are an important means of working out the musical thought ("Fortspinnung"). In the first two sections a gentle motion is established by minims. The beginning especially, which symbolises the *adoratio,* is remarkably expressive, with the alto voice gradually mounting higher and higher and broadening out to a climax. Musical figures on the words "reclinatum" (falling minor sixth, which indeed occur several times in the *Parnassus* motets, and which at the time must have been regarded as an especially effective and novel means of expression, as their use in the *stylus antiquus* was heavily frowned

upon), and "vagantem" characterise the second section. The homogenity of III and IV is preserved by the use of a predominantly lively motion in crotchets and quavers, closely fitting the text. Even the bass, which in the first two sections moves along very slowly with long-held notes, changes over to crotchets and quavers at that point where the voice part becomes slower or pauses, in order to maintain the sense of movement in the piece. That this shows a definite feeling for form is obvious. III and IV provide an effective contrast to I and II. The climax to the whole piece comes in IV on the words "Gloria in altissimis Deo". The a' in the imperfect cadence here is all the more effective as it has only occurred twice previously, each time unaccented. The solution to the 'thesis' (I and II) and 'antithesis' (III and IV) comes in a broadly conceived Alleluia in triple time in which the voice and the bass line which imitates it are interwoven. Here the individual sections are first brought together to form a whole unit.

It was necessary to discuss this piece in detail here, not only because it displays the closest affinity to "affect-determined" monody, but also because in its intensity and in its form it stands far above the average level in the literature of concerti for small voice-combinations. In comparison, the second concerto for solo voice by Priuli, "Egredimini filiae Sion et videte reginam nostram", is much more conventional in form, although it is not lacking in orginal touches either. The text which, like the other, was presumably arranged by the composer himself from the Bible (Song of Solomon III, 11) offers no real scope for expressive monody. The first part contains a song of praise to the Virgin Mary, concluding with an Alleluia in triple time; the second is a prayer for Her intercession. Textual repetitions are numerous, but as each phrase is usually repeated at the interval of a second, the expressiveness of the whole is thereby increased. Each section closes in the tonic (F-Ionic), which is also to be found frequently in H. Schütz [209]. Attention must be drawn to the diminutions which serve to throw the cadences into higher relief, and the march rhythm which mirrors the "Egredimini".

The "Benedicam Dominum" (Psalm XXXIII, 2, 3) for solo bass by Giovanni Valentini belongs to that particular type of concerto in which the voice part normally runs parallel to the basso continuo. Melodic variety is achieved through the ornamentation of the voice part (with a preference for dotted rhythms, to which Valentini was particularly addicted) which is directly imitated by the basso continuo in one place only. On the other hand, "self-imitation" in cases of textual repetition occurs frequently, although it comes, not at the interval of a fourth or a fifth, but in the tonic, at a second, or at a third. This short piece is important only as an experiment.

[209] F. Blume, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

It is in the pieces for two and more voices that the combination of the traditional motet technique with the innovations of the monodists is most clearly to be seen. This latter can be observed in the very structure of the individual themes, in the mounting sequences, in the rhythmic contrasts, in the building-up of dramatic tension by means of a dialogue-like division of the text, and in the subjective, often emotional handling of the text, which is not the same as the word-painting which was becoming more and more common at the time. In their harmonies, on the other hand, (which show every sign of belonging to the period of transition from modal practice to the major-minor tonality), only here and there, (such as in the above-mentioned "Adoramus te Domine Jesu Christe" for solo voice by Giovanni Priuli, for example), is there a tendency towards monodic expression. The technical means employed in most of the pieces are traditional: this in the circumstances, however, in no way detracts from their artistic value. In the general structure, for example, the practice of indulging in the stereotyped repetition of single word-groups, shows the influence of the patterning of the older motets, and then the imitative statements at the beginning and the anticipation of new motifs in the basso continuo, which also shows a connection with the old motet bass, indicate a similar origin. Another characteristic of the old motet is the statement of the opening themes in notes of longer value, although here these themes are often considerably shorter, rhythmically more developed, soon leading to a cadence, whereby the characteristic mosaic-like pattern of sharply silhouetted sections is achieved. Further traditional tendencies are also taken over from the pseudo-polyphonic concert motets. This gives rise to contrasting movement in the voice parts and the use of shorter motifs, formally determined by declamation. Just how well these often heterogeneous elements of form and expression were welded into an artistic whole depended of course entirely upon the capabilities of the composer.

If we restrict ourselves first of all to motets for two voices, then we can safely claim that Priuli's concerto "Gustate et videte" (Psalm XXXIII, 6, 9, 10) in G-Mixolydian is in no way inferior in the power of its expression to certain compositions of Heinrich Schütz. As the text itself implies, it is not dramatically impassioned, it radiates an even, inner warmth which is sustained throughout. Its divisions alone betray the hand of the master. Like Schütz, Priuli handles the text very freely, breaking up the three verses of the psalm according to his musical requirements as follows:

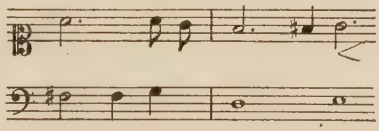
A:	/:Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est dominus:/	Verse 9
	/:beatus vir, qui sperat in eo.:/	
B:	Accedite ad eum et illuminamini:	Verse 6
	et facies vestrae non confundentur.	
	Timete Dominum omnes sancti eius:	Verse 10

quoniam non est inopia /:timentibus eum:/

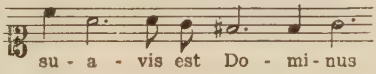
A_1: /:Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est dominus:/ Verse 9

/:beatus vir, qui sperat in eo:/

Verses 6 and 10 are inserted into verse 9, which thus forms a frame. Thus Priuli achieves the da capo form ABA_1. A_1 is only a slightly varied restatement of A. Although B consists of two psalm verses comprising 15 breve bars, A (and A_1) are both somewhat longer (19 and 21 bars respectively), verse 9 being da capo both times so as to preserve the proportions. The striking nature of the form is underlined by the fact that in A and in A_1 both voices are treated in imitation, while B is divided between canto and basso. In the simple, but singularly inward, opening theme, the falling minor sixth is the most important element in determining the general mood of the piece. This atmosphere is increased by a repeat that owes much of its charm to melodic and harmonic variation. At "beatus vir" a quaver-motif enters, based upon declamation, which is continued by the two voices in concert up to the last cadence of section A. B on the other hand is strictly recitative, although the older technical devices (anticipation of motifs in the basso and a lively bass part) are not disdained. The transition from B to A, which is achieved without any hiatus, is particularly successful, effecting as it does the return to the gentle motion of the opening. Chromaticism is nowhere employed, even though bar 7 of the soprano part in the "partitura" may be written thus:



A comparison with the same passage in the Cantus, however:

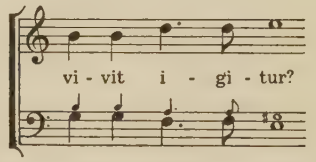


merely shows what a carefree attitude was adopted in the placing of accidentals. The first extract shows a continuation of the old custom of placing a sharp between two notes of the same pitch in order to raise both. In the music of P. A. Bianco and V. Jelich, printed about the same time, a similar usage is to be observed [210]. On the other hand, the effect of the false rela-

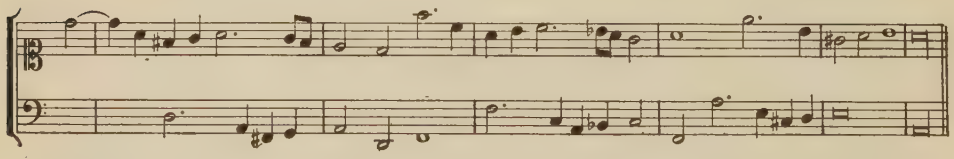
[210] See H. Federhofer, "Antonio Bianco u. seine Vorgänger Andreas Zweiler und Pietro Ragno and d. Grazer Hofkapelle" in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch,*

tion (c"-c♯) in bar 9 and in the corresponding place in bar 44, coupled with the downward skip of a minor sixth, is fully and successfully utilised to increase the intensity of expression. Otherwise Priuli is rather more conservative and economical in this piece in his choice of means of expression. This very economy reveals the experienced hand of a master.

The two concerti "O Maria, quid ploras ad monumentum" (borrowed from John XX, 13 and the Song of Solomon II, 14), and "Deus misereatur" Psalm LXVI, 2 & 3) by Giovanni Valentini, both likewise written for Canto and Basso show certain original touches, but neither in the intensity of their expression nor in their structure do they approach the concerto of Priuli. The chromatic turns which the text inspires at "quid ploras", "occiderunt" and „perfidis Judeis" remain purely on the surface, and the short sections, built up of short, oft-repeated declamatory motifs, do not come together to form a whole. Indeed, certain motifs directly contradict the sense and expressive content of the text. An effective moment in the middle of the piece is the dialogue-like division of the text between the angel and Mary leading up to the dramatically exciting question:



which is most suitably expressed by the half-cadence. In the second concerto, the sequence on the closing phrase "salutem tuum" must be mentioned, for it is founded on a fully harmonic basis, and its effectiveness rests on the third-relationship of the triad D, F and A:



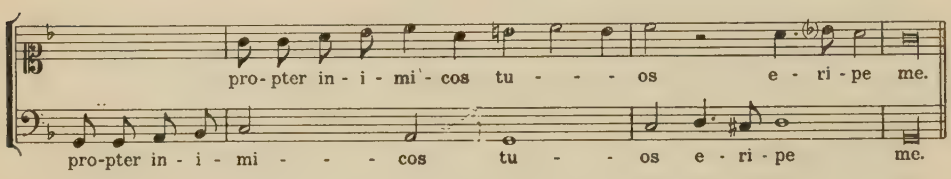
The concerto "Hic est beatus Carolus" (Eccl. L, 1. 6. 7.) for Canto and Basso by Georg Poss leaves a much greater impression of unity. Instead of the name Simon in the Biblical passage, that of the recently sainted

Thirty-eigth year, 1954, p. 73f., and "Vincenz Jelich" in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* Twelfth year, 1955.

Charles Borromäus, the Archbishop of Milan, is substituted. Incidentally, the motet „O beatum Carolum" (Eccl. L, 4. 5 [Alleluia] 9. 10) by Alessandro Tadei was also dedicated to him, the same change being made in the text. Perhaps this was a personal desire of the editor, Bonometti, who, having served in the Cathedral of Milan himself, must have known the reverence in which the Archbishop was held. Poss's concerto consists of three clearly defined sections corresponding to the three sections of the text. The middle one is in triple time, thus rendering the form of the whole easily recognisable. He takes great pains to keep up the flow of movement throughout, and to avoid breaking up his line with endless imitation and short motifs in sequence. It is true that the motifs themselves are often conventional, but their organic succession does show a real feeling for form. The bass line often shows a surprising sense for logical harmonic relations looking far into the future, in that passing tones are used for "Horizontalisation" and "Auskomponierung". The harmony is of course simpler and less coloured than in many other compositions of this time, but it is correspondingly more purposeful. All of which is to the benefit of the form. It would be a waste of time here to search for a subtle understanding and expression of the contents of the text such as Priuli loved. The piece is more abstract, more objective in expression, it betrays a more craftsmanlike attitude. It would make sense as music if it were performed without the text altogether and with instruments. Here is the master of contrapuntal proficiency.

The concerto for two tenors, "Quam brevis", by Alessandro Bontempo is entirely different. The obviously non-liturgical text consists of two four-line verses with the same rhyme. When the voices are not alternating with each other — thus giving the impression of being only one voice — they sing almost the whole time in thirds, taking turns with the upper part. The second voice therefore has always to restrict its function to forming the harmony. Otherwise the piece does not rise above the average of the concerto literature. The same might also be said of the two concerti for two voices by Giovanni Sansoni: "Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat" (Song of Solomon V, 2, 3 & 5) for two altos, and "Ecce quam bonum" (Psalm CXXXII, 1, 2 & 3) for two basses. Short declamatory motifs predominate, which neither reflect the contents of the text nor unite to form a whole. Sansoni's forte was certainly instrumental composition and improvisation. On the other hand, the concerto "Exaudi me Domine" (Psalm LXVIII, 17, 18 & 19) for Canto and Basso by Michelangelo Rizzio, with its use of heterogeneous means of expression, arouses some interest. The first part, it is true, does not rise above conventional motifs without any particular value of expression; at "miserationum tuarum" however there enters an imitation between Canto and Basso combined with sequence and syncopa-

tion, to which is added a new motif to "respice in me" which is also in sequence, whereby the expression gains not only in intensity and concentration but also in subjective colouring. A similar section, though without the addition of the second motif, comes towards the end at "intende animae meae". These tendencies are increased further at "quoniam", a motif in sequences at the interval of a third, which makes the most of the effect of the falling minor sixth — a touch already encountered in Priuli and Valentini — and at the end of the concerto, where the expressive value of the minor second at "eripe me" takes on a highly personal quality:



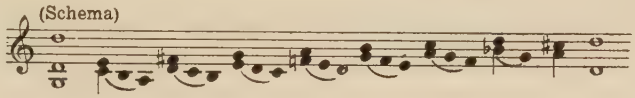
Nevertheless, Rizzio does not succeed in uniting these heterogeneous elements into a convincing whole.

The pieces for three and four voices confirm the impressions already gained. Monodic means of expression fall further into the background. Texts of laudatory or joyful content predominate. Thus for example the 4-voice concerto "O crux benedicta" (based upon the antiphon "Festum septem Dolorum B.M.V.") for C.A.T.B. by Giovanni Priuli consists chiefly of two extended sections in triple time, the preceding sections with even beat serving merely as an introduction. An extended closing Alleluia forms the climax. Valentini's two 3-voice concertos, "O dulcis amor Jesu" (based upon Zachariah XIII, 6) for Canto, Tenore and Basso and his "Vulnerasti cor meum" (Song of Solomon IV, 9 & 10) for two Tenore and Basso are much more mature in form and expression than their counterparts for one or two voices. In "O dulcis amor Jesu" he provides a framework by the use of refrains. The form is as follows:

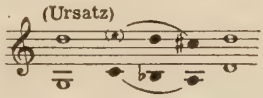
A	B	C	D	
(6 bars imitative polyphony)	(3 bars bass solo)	(6 bars in triple time)	(3½ bars tenor solo)	
... E	F	C	E	C
(5 bars in concert)	(4 & 4 bars in concert)	(as before)	(as before)	(as before).

In A, the falling minor sixth with its characteristic effect is very much in evidence, as the opening motif is given to all four voices. Unlike Giovanni Valentini, Georg Poss, in his 4-voice concerto "Gaudeamus, iubilemus, exultemus" for C.A.T.B., seeks to avoid longer caesuras whenever possible.

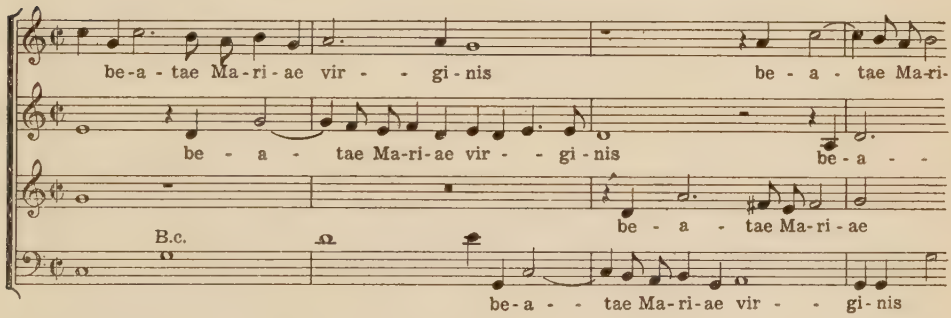
His effort to bind the individual sections closer together in order to preserve the flow of the music is quite obvious. The harmony is progressive, in that fluctuating tonal relations are avoided, and individual sections are formed according to the forwardmoving principles of modern classical harmony. Thus the highly effective sequence at the beginning:



is revealed to be an extension of the simple harmonic succession:



The motifs are to be understood as the linear embodiment of a harmonic conception, moving towards a "Zielton" which is rooted in the common chord. Their rhythm is therefore often very incisive and accentuated, as for example in the following motif, which is later developed into a world-embracing theme, especially in the fugues of the Gloria and Credo:



Here too the foundation of the motif on the overall harmonic movement (the tendency from the C triad to the G triad) is characteristic. The example bears further testimony to the master's contrapuntal ideas, which indeed are to be observed several times in this concerto. It would be useless to search for a refined expression of personal feeling in this concerto. Its merit is rather the genuine originality and spontaneity of the expression. Finally, M. Rizzio's 4-voice concerto "Bonum est confiteri Domino" (Psalm LXXXXII, 2-6) for two tenors and bass must also be mentioned. Like his concerto for two voices, this work is built up of heterogeneous elements, and as in the former work, no organic unity is achieved.

It is intended to publish a selection of the works discussed in this essay

in the series "Musik alter Meister. Beiträge zur Musik- und Kulturgeschichte Innerösterreichs" [211]. Nevertheless, an investigation of the remaining and till now completely unknown religious works of Priuli, Valentini and Poss is greatly to be desired. At the moment we are in a position to note characteristic differences between them. These will also be found, presumably, in their other works.

Alfred Einstein has placed Priuli among the foremost madrigal composers of Italy. The few specimens of concerti for small voice-combinations that have come down to us prove equally conclusively that he was also a master of that form. Similarly, Valentini's love of experiment and harmonic daring, which we know from his instrumental compositions, is also to be found in the field of vocal music, even if to a lesser degree. The importance of Georg Poss, on the other hand, lies in efforts to build up a new concept of harmony. In certain surprisingly audacious passages, there is indicated the fully developed functional harmony of the late baroque era with all its accompanying characteristics.

The University

Graz, Austria

[211] The following publications have appeared to date: "Johannes de Cleve — Missa Vous perdes temps" (*H. I.* 1949) and "Johannes Brassicanus — Sechs Choralbearbeitungen u. d. Quodlibet "Was wöln wir aber heben an?" (*H.* 2. 1954).

APPENDICES

HK = Graz, Landesregierungsarchiv [= Archives of the Provincial Government], Hofkammerakt [= File of the Court Chamber], HKR = Hofkammer-Registratur [= Registry of the Court Chamber], KR = Kammer-Registratur [= Registry of the Chamber].

ATTI, Francesco degli

1. HK 1612-I-48

The Graz court singer and early monodist Francesco degli Atti to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo Principe sig[no]re s. clem[entissi]mo. Già che a V.A. Ser[enissi]-ma e piaciuto di concedermi licenza d'andarmene in Italia a riueder le cose mie per poter poi nel mio ritorno attendere a seruire con maggior quiete d'animo... Et accio... supplico ancora, che per raddoppiarmi la gratia, si degni ordinare che si scriuano due lettere, una al S. Card. *Borghesi* in raccomandatione di Francesco *Compagni* mio cugino, accio lo fauorisca di qualche gouerno nello stato ecclesiastico; e l'altra al S. Card. *Lantes* Vescouo di Todi patria mia, raccomandandogli la mia persona...

Francesco degli Atti. 1611, Juli 10.

Request granted: Dem *Francisco degli Atti* werden hiemit die Ime (zu ainer nach Italiam verrichtunden Rais) dargelichne 150 fl. anjezo zu ainer gnad geschenkht. Gräz, den 18. Jan. 1612.

2. HK 1630-IV-95

Francesco degli Atti to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Allergenedigister Khayser vnd Herr. E. khay. Myt. Bey der ganzen Welt erschallne Khay. gnaden, die E.K.M. dero getreuen Dienern jederzeith erwisen haben, mier nunmehr 56 jährigen Man vndt 23 järigen Diener anlaß geben, auch mich dero Khay, gnaden thailhafftig zu machen... vndt zu einer abfertig[ung] vndt schließlichen Khay. Gnadt mier auff 6000 saimb Negel ein khay. Paßbrieff allerg [nädi]gst erthaillen... *Fran[ces]co degl' Atti, Musico.*

Report of the Court Chamber in Graz about Francesco degl' Atti.

Francisci Degliatti HoffMusici empfangne gnaden vnd dienst betr[effend]. Franciscus Degliatti HoffMusicus dient vom primo Octobris A° 1609 anfangs mit monatlich 12 fl. Hoffbesoldung vnd dem gewöndlichen Claidergelt als ain Jar 40: das ander 16 fl., welliche besoldung Ime A° [1]614 mit 2 vnd A° 1621 wider mit 6 fl. verbössert vnd järlich mit 240 fl. A° 1627 sein Ime abermalen vnd mit Eingang dises Jars samt den andern Musicis zu ainer Zuepueß auf wolgefallen järlich 120 fl. bewilligt. Hat also järlich 360 fl. vnderhaltung vnd dient bis anhero 20½ Jar. ... Summa der gnaden, außer was Ime aus der gehaimben Camer, item aus denen der ganzen Musica A° 1623 zu ainen Adiuto di costa bewilligten 25.115 fl., alda khain specification vorhanden, etwo geraicht worden... 1534 fl. 1630, März 14.

Report of the i. ö. Hofkammerpräsidenten Ulrich von Eggenberg to Emperor Ferdinand II.

... der Supplicant [degli Atti] gegen seiner geringen Verrichtung ... bishero ... mit ainer guetten Vnterhaltung als des Jahres 360 fl. fürgesehen ... für dismahl... zur geduldt weisen lassen ... Gräz, den 24. Aprilis Anno 1630.

3. HK 1631-IX-71

Inner-österreichische Court Chamber to the Oberamtsleute an der Tarvis.
Ambtleuth an der Taruis sollen den Marco Benaglio dem von *Francesco Deliatti* erhandleten (von Ihrer Khay. May. selbstaignen Signatur ausgefertigten) Paβbrief auf 1000 s[aimb] negl abführen lassen. 19. September 1631.

4. HK 1632-I-48

The widow Barbara Degliatti to Emperor Ferdinand II.
(Francesco degli Atti maried Barbara Daispeck in Graz on 26 July 1616; Graz, Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut. Traumatriken Vol. I, 58.)
Sacra Cesarea Maestà. Barbara moglie del q[uondam] *Fran[cesco] degl' Atti,* pouera Vedova humilm[en]te espone alla M.V.... hauendo V.M. concesso beningnam[en]te al *Fr[ancesco] da gl'Atti* vivente un passaporto p[er] mille some di chiodi ...
Request granted.
Ferdinand der Ander ... Wir setzen ... in khainen Zweifl, Euch wierdet dasjenige, was wir noch vndterm dato 1. Aprilis an den Fürsten zu Eggenberg wegen weillandt vnsers gewesten HofMusici *Francesci Dagliatti* vnd abfüehrung seines noch hieuor disem auf 1000 Sämbnägl verwilligten Paaβbriefs, (welchen Er ainen Khauffman in Villach, nambens Marco Benaglio verhandlet, auch berait daran 300 Reichsthaller empfangen haben solle) allergnedigist haben gelangen lassen, berait communiciert vnd die verrere notturfft durch Ine anbeuolchen worden sein. Weillen wir aber ... an jezo de nouo durch sein *Dagliatti* nachgelassne Wittib ... behölligt werden, als haben wir die sachen nochmallen bey vnserer vorigen Resolution allerdings bewenden lassen vnd ... beuelchen wöllen ... bey vnsern Ambtleüthen an der Täruis die eheiste gewisse Verordnung thuen wöllet... Wien den 15. Augusti A° 1631.

BONOMETTI, Giovanni Battista

5. HK 1617-XII-38

The Graz Court Tenorist Giovanni Battista Bonometti to King Ferdinand II.
Memorial di Gio. Battista Bonometti. Sacra Real Maesta. Gia sono passati alcuni mesi ch'io ottenni gratiosa licentia dalla M.V. di poter pigliar per moglie la honesta Giovene Diamante figliola del S[igno]r *Matthia Ferabosco* et hora douendo celebrar alli 20. del presenti le mie holle, supp[lican]do ... la M.ta V. che si come me e stato gratioso in concedermi licentia di poterla pigliar in matrimonio cosi anco resti seruita con la solita Benignita sua mandar persona che rappresenti la M.V. alle dette mie holle ... *Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Buonometti.*
The Court Chamber to King Ferdinand II.
Genedigister Khönig. — *Joannes Fabritius* vnd *Joan[nes] Bapt[ista] Buonometi* Hoff Musici beruefen Eur Khön[igliche] Würden zu Iren auf den 20. vnd 27. dis angestelte Hochzeiten vnd biten gehorsamist vmb gesandte. Vnd wie nun auf dergleichen Officier 20 fl. Hochzeit Ehrung gebreüchig ist, also wierdet ... der Capellmaister zu beederseits gesandten, weilen die Hochzeiten zu vnterschidlicher Zeit angestelt, zuuerordnen sein. Gräz, 15. Novembris 1617.
Request granted:
Ferdinandt. — Pfennigmaister solle ... Hansen Fabritio vnd Joan. Bap[tist]a

Buonometi Hoff Musici . . . hochzeitehrung 20 fl. raichen. Gräz, am 4. Decembris 1617.

6. *HK* 1619-II-79

Giovanni Battista Bonometti to King Ferdinand II.
Sacra Regia Maestà. — Gia sara cinque anni, ch'io son al seruitio della M[aes]tà V[ostr]a é mai non ho hauuto ardire di molestarla ma hora ritrouandomi in grand[issi]ma nescesità con famiglia e debiti e non sapendo piu a che parte uoltarmi, son statto veramente sforzato con questa mia humile e riuer[en]te supp[li]ca ricorrere . . . di vna gratia et aiutto suo, acio possa pagare gli miei debiti, e socorrere alla mia pouera casa . . . *Gio. Batt[ist]a Bonometti.* Musico.
Request granted:
Ferdinandt. — Wir haben vnserm Hofmusico Hans Baptista Bonometti . . . ainhundert vnd fünfzig gulden zue ainer gn[ad] bewilligt . . . 27. Februarij 1619.

7. HK 1620-VIII-45

Giovanni Battista Bonometti to Emperor Ferdinand II.
Sacra Cesarea Maestà. Se si troua Ser[vito]re alcu[n] di V.M.C. chi la serui, et seruir desideri in sino alla morte tanto suisceratam[en]te et fedelm[en]te quanto io, certo confesso auanti sua Diuina M[ae]tà se superar mi puó alcu[n] di forze, talento, et di ualore, come sará uero, essend' io il minimo di tutti, però certo mai di bona uolontà qual si uoglia mi ha auanzato, ne auanzara: oltre di questo parmi esser costretto per molte ragioni, che per breuità tralascio; che fra le altre u'e quella Paterna sicurezza di V.M.C. fattami gratiosam[en]te rifferire, quando con l's[an]to Matrimonio mi posi all honor del mondo per testimonio di perpetuarmi nel suo gratioso et bramato seruitio di dare eterna fiducia ho riceuuto di no[n] esser mai abbandonato dalla sua infinita clemenza, senza la quale, come anco senza la sua gratia, et lice[n]za di V.M.C. hauerei tenuto, e no[n] hauerei hauuto ardire mai di legarmi in questo stato dal cielo destinatomi nel benigno seruitio di V.M.C. Mi scusi et mi per doni donque per sua somma benignità, se humil[men]te inclinato me ne uengo alli piedi di V.M.C. con esporre li miei aggraui, quali dopo tanti uiaggi strasordinarie spese di far due case, massime in si longhe carestie di ricomperare altri mobili per piantar casa noua in Vienna, condur la familia et le robbe con tanti stenti, habitare in questa città d'agni cosa senza paragone piu caro di Gratz, e a pena il solo salario per me solo può bastare per pane et vino che per tutte queste superflue spese alle mie debole forze é per non fastidir la V.M.C. ho uolsuto piu tosto suenarmi di quanto haueua e indebitar mi per supplire alle mie nessesità, et per aspettar meglior occasione ma alle fine come sforzato, che non solo V.M.C. compatendo alle mie sudette raggioni che mi hanno indotto all' estremo, come anco riguardando la mia indubitata confidenza uerso V.M.C. sotto la quale ombra deuo uiuere et morire et anco in parte p[er] amor di quelle ossa et bon vecchio *Ferabosco* cosi antico et ardentissimo ser[vito]re di V.M.C. del quale mia moglie rimase cara, ma pouera figlia, ritenendo in sette Anni del mio seruitio come caparra della gratia sua 150 fiorini che mi fece dare, hora humil[men]te supp[li]co V.M.C. degnarsi dico per sua pietà et magnaminità per gratia a concedermi un Passa Porto di trecento manzi . . . Di V.M.C. humil[issi]mo et deuot[issi]mo Ser[vito]re *Gio[vanni] Batista Bonometti.*
Request granted:
Ferdinand. Albertinellischen Erben sollen *Johan Babtista Bonometti* aus der Oxengebür 397 fl. 30 Kr. gnad. bezallen. — Getreue liebe, vnser genedigister

Beuelch ist hiemit, Ihr wöllet vnserm Hofmusico Johan Baptista Bonometti hierauf vnd gegen vnsers Raths vnd Hofpfeningmaisters ambtsquittung anstatt aines paaβbriefs von 150 ochsen 397 fl. 30 Kr. bezallen . . . Wien den 22. Augusti A[nn]o 1620.

BONTEMPO, Alessandro; see also Vigasi Giacomo

8. HK 1610-V-25

The Graz court organist Alessandro Bontempo to the Archduke Maximilian Ernst (governor in absence of Archduke Ferdinand)

Durchleichtigister Erzherzog, gnedigister Herr vnd Landtsfürst, seittemal ich mich durch göttlichen willen, vnd Vorwissen beederseits Eltern vnd Befreundten mit des edlen vnd vesten Herrn Hieronimen Campana vnd seiner Ehefraven Magdalena, erzeugten ehelichen Tochter, Jungfrawen Julia, bis aufs Priesters Handt ehelich versprochen, die hochzeytliche EhrnZeyt, Ehrnfreidt in circa auf den zwainzigisten tag negst eingehunden Monats Juny zu Gradisch, in Eur Für: Dur: Graffschaft Görz zu halten vnd zu begehen angestelt vnd determiniert, so bitt Eur Fur. Dur: ich vndterthänigist, Sy wollen mir dise erzherzogliche gnad erzaigen, wo nicht mit persöndlichen gegenwart, so doch durch dero abgesandten gnedigist darzue zu erscheinen vnd dises christlichs Ehrnwerkh gnedigist helffen complirn . . . *Alexander Bontempo.* 1610, Mai 17.

Request granted:

Hauptman zu Grädisch [Franz Formentini] solle ain Praesent von 30 fl. werth dem *Alexandro Bontempo* als ain hochzeitehrung dargeben. Gräz, den 30. May A° 1610.

9. HK 1611-II-84

Alessandro Bontempo to Archduke Ferdinand

Durchleuchtigister Erzherzog . . . demnach Euer Für. Dur: . . . in genedigister erinderung haben werden, das ich bei disem hochlöblichen vnd fürstlichen Hof von meinen khündtlichen tagen selbiger Zeit zwar mit geringen, nun aber vnd von etlichen verwichnen Jahrn hero wie hoffendt mit pessern vnd tauglichern müglichist vnd gehorsamist gediendt . . . aber khurz verwichner Zeit mich in die Hauswierdtschafft begeben vnd in zimlich starckhe schuldt . . . khumen, habe also Euer Für. Dur. ich . . . zu bitten nit khünen vmbgehen, mich . . . mit einen adiuto . . . zu bedenckhen . . . *Alexander Bontempo* Hof Organist. 1611, Feber 18.

Request granted:

Pfennigmaister solle Alexander Bontempo 100 fl. Gnad bezallen. Gräz, den 25. Februarij 1611.

10. HK 1614-VI-36

Alessandro Bontempo to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo Arci[du]ca. Supplicai a V.S.A. li giorni passati . . . a far me gratia del accrescimento di salario da quindeci fiorini sino alli uintidoi al mese, come già et dal tempo che gratiosamente la concesse ad *Allessandro Tadei* suo organista, mio compagnio . . . *Allessandro Bontempo* organista.

Report of the Graz court Oberststallmeister Johann Jakob Khisl

Durchleichtigister Erzherzog . . . auf des *Alexandri Bontempo* Hoforganisten v̄berraichten . . . Supplicieren vmb verbesserung seiner monatlicher Besoldung willen... berichte Eur Für. Dht. Ich . . . weillen der Supplicant dem *Thadei* gleich dienen thuet, meines gehor. erachtens nicht vnbillich, daβ er auch in gleicher besoldtung genommen werde . . . H. Jacob Khisl, Freiherr. 1614, Mai 14.

Request granted:
Vnnsern HofInstrumentisten vnd auch getreuen lieben *Alexandern Bontempo* haben wir sein bisher mit 15 fl. gehabte monnatliche besoldung auf 22 fl. erhöht... Wien, am 25. Junij 1614.

11. HK 1620-VIII-44

Alessandro Bontempo to the Emperor Ferdinand II.
An die Rhöm. Khay. auch zu Hungarn vnd Böhaimb etc Khun: Mjt deroselben Organisten *Alexandern Bontempo*... anlangen vnd bitten. ...Bey Eur Röm. Kay: Mjt: bin ich zu drei vnderschidlichen mahlen wegen meiner lang treugelaisten diensten... in ansehung Ich auch vmb alles das, so ich von meinem Eheweib zugewarthen, in fürgangnen Friaulischen Kriegsweesen komen, wie auch des wenigen, so Ich in meinem geringen Vermugen gehabt, durch entfrembdung bin beraubt worden, vmb ein Gnad oder ergözliheit... supplicando einkomen, Ich aber meiner nottrungenlichen... Bitt, bishero niemahls gewehrt worden bin. Als gelangt an Eur Röm. Kay. Mjt: mein... bitten, sie geruehen mich vmb obangezogner Vrsachen willen, nit allain mit ainer Gnad... zu bedenkhen, sonndern mir auch auf drei Monat lang in Friaul, aldahin ich mich wegen beruert meiner Ehewürthin noch vorhandnen doch verheerten güeter... notwendig verfuegen solle, mit meinem Vattern, so sich anjezo alhie befindt, hinweckh zu raisen erlauben, will mich alsdann... bey meinem Dienst... allervnderthenigist widerumb einstellen... *Alexander Bontempo.*
Request granted:
Pfennigmaister solle *Alexander Bontempo* Organisten 530 fl. aus der Oxengebür zur gnad bezallen. Wien, den 22. Augusti A° [1]620.

12. HK 1615-IX-3

Emperor Ferdinand II. to the inner-österreichischen Hofkammerpräsidenten Ulrich von Eggenberg.
Alexander Bontempo per eruolglassung der Ime gebürenden portion der weillandt seinem Vatter verwilligten Abfertigung... dem *Alexandro Bontempo* von den 1500 fl. Bontempischen Wittib vnd Erben gnad vnd abfertigung sein thaill daran defalciern 300 fl. betr.... Neustatt, den zwölfften Augusti im 1625. Jar.

BOSCH (Posch), Paul

13. HK 1618-XII-39

The Graz Court Bassist Paul Bosch to King Ferdinand.
Ey[er] Khöniglich May[estät] khan ich Endtsbenanther mit disem meinem... Suppliciren... zue behelligen, nit vmgehen. Nachdem ich zue Haall im Inthall in der fürstl[ichen] Stifft Cappellen bey 6. Jar lang vnder denen Durchleichtigisten Fürstinnen... Maria Christierna vnd Leonora beede geborne Erzherzogin zue Österreich vnwürdiger Passist vnd Cantor gewösen bin, waillendt ich aber mein Hayll, Nutz, Wolfarth vnd fromen anderstwerts zue suechen gedacht, insonderlicher bedenckhung mich zue Ey[er] Königl[ichen] May[estät] zuuerfiegen... hab ich bey Ey[er] Khönigl. May. Cappellmaister mich angemelt, welcher mich probirt vnd nach gethaner Prob mich auf Wien mit einem Schreiben an Ey. Khönigl. May. Camer Herren geschickht... *Paullus Bosch.*
Request granted:
Ferdinandt... Vnser genediger beuelch ist hiemit, das du *Paulen Boschen,* den wir als ainen Musicum vnd Basisten zu vnserm Hof Capellndienst nach Gräz verschickhen, 15 fl. zue Zehrung alsbaldt dargebest... Wien 6. Decembris 1618.

CESANA, Bartolomeo

see Mutis, conte di Cesana, Bartolomeo

CIVIDINO, Canziano

14. HK 1616-IV-84

The Graz Court Altist Canziano Cividino to Archduke Ferdinand.
Gib Eur Fürstl. Dur. ... zu vernemben, daß ich mich ... zu der ... Jungfrau *Maria Ferraboschkhin,* weillendt des Edlen vndt vesten Herrn *Matthia Ferraboscho,* seeligen Gedächtnus sein ehliche nachgelassne Tochter bis auf die priesterliche Zusamengebung ehlichen verpflicht vnd versprochen vndt vnser hochzeitliche Ehrn vndt Freiden Tag ... auf den driten Tag khunftigen Monats May bey dem erbarn vnd wolgrahten Maister Jacoben Schmitt in der Schmitgassen zu halten angestelt. Was die Zusambenkhunfft anbelangt, beschiht in ihres Herrn Vattern seeligen Behausung neben den alten Frauen Closter vbergelegen. Gelangt derowegen an Eur Fürstl. Dur. ... bit vnd laden durch dero fürstl. Abgesannte ... erschainen zu lassen ... *Cantiano Cividino* Musico.
Request granted:
Pfenningmaister solle *Conciano Cividin* 20 fl. Hochzeitehrung geben. Gräz am 30. Aprilis 1616.

15. HK 1617-XII-109

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Giovanni Priuli about Canziano Cividino.
Ser[enissi]mo Prencipe. Veduta io la supplica fatta a Vostra Altezza Ser[enissi]ma da *Cantiano Ciuidino* suo musico mandata mi per parere, et considerato la necessità, in che lui si ritroua, non potendo uiuere con il poco salario di dieci fiorini al mese, et essendo maritato; per tanto riuerente dico per mio parere che V.A. Ser[enissi]ma benignamente lo gratiasse d'aiuto di qualche accrescimento di salario, o come in altra maniera piace a V.A. Ser[enissi]ma che in uero la diligenza sua nel seruitio aggionta alle graui sue necessità, lo fa meritende di tal opera di carità. *Giouanni Priuli,* capel Mastro et humilissimo seruitore di V.A. Ser^{ma}.
Request granted:
Pfennigmaister solle *Cantian Ciuidin* zu den vorigen 10 anjezo noch 2 fl. besoldungs Verbesserung monatlich raichen. 30. Decembris 1617.
[*Request of Cividino is wanted*].

16. HK 1630-I-149

Report of the inner-österreichische Hofkammer to Emperor Ferdinand II.
Bericht auf *Canciano Ciuidini* Musici bittenden Paaßbrieff auf 300 Oxen. — Allergenedigister Herr. Es khombt zwar mit neben verwahrten Suppliciern [*is wanted*] *Canciano Ciuidino* Eur Khay Mt. Hoff Musicus dises inhalts ein, Eur Khay Mt. gerueheten Ime, in ansehung seiner 24 jährigen Dienstzeit vnd dabei gemachten schuldenlasts ... einen Paaßbrieff auf dreyhundert oxen ... zuuerwilligen ... Vermainen ... ernenten Supp[lican]ten ... auf bessere gelegenheit zur geduldt oder auf andere Mitl zu weisen. Doch stehet wie alles, also auch dis bei Eur Khay. Mt. ... gefallen. 26. Januarij [1]630.

COCCIOLA, Giovanni Andrea

17. HK 1606-III-100

The Graz Court Sopranist Giovanni Andrea Cocciola to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo P[re]n[ci]pe. Quando per benignità et clemenza di V[ost]ra Alt[ezz]a Ser[enissi]ma io *Gioan. Andrea Cozzola* humil[issi] mo et deuot[issi]mo suo ser[vito]re et Musico Sopranista fui accettato nel numero de suoi Musici, mi furono assegnati quindeci fiorini di prouisione al mese, senza hauere cosa alcuna per il viaggio, come é consueto darsi à tutti. Hora considerando le molte spese fatte da quali non posso rihauermi con tal prouis[ion]e doppe hauer seruito circa due Anni per dar saggio della seruitu mia, fidato nella singolar bontà et clemenza di V.A. Ser[enissi]ma . . . la supplico degnarsi con qualche Donatiuo ristorarmi da dette spese et assegnarmi prouisione . . ., accio piu longam[ent]e io possi seruire all A.V. Ser^{ma} . . . Hum[ilissi]mo et deuot[issi]mo Ser[vito]re *Gioan And[re]a Cozzola.* 1606 März 20.

Request granted:

Pfenningmeister solle *Johann Andre Cozzola* Musicum 20 fl. gnad bezallen. Gräz 22 Marty 1606.

18. 1608-VI-52

Giovanni Andrea Cocciola to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo Principe . . . Già sono passati quattro anni, ch'io sono all' A.V. Ser[enissi]ma, nel qual tempo non ho mai richiesta la sua benignità d'alcuna gratia. Hora essendo forzato ritornarmene a Casa per pochi giorni a reuedere mio Padre, che è in estrema vecchiezza, et gli altri miei Parenti ne potendo condurmene per essere distante de qua' allo Confine del Piemonte et anco per le spese, che hó fatte in questi uiaggi di Ratisbona . . . Vengo a supplicar A.V. Ser[enissi]-ma che si compiaccia farmi gratia di quella benignità, . . . *Gio[vanni] Cozzola* humil[issi]mo et deuoti[ssi]mo seruitore et cantore di V.A. Serennissima], 1608 Juni 3.

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister about Giovanni Andrea Cocciola.

Giä. Andrea Cazzola, Ihr Fur. Dur. vnsers g[nä]di[g]sten Herren Capelsinger . . . bith Ihr Fur. Dur. Ime mit einer landtsfürstlichen genadt zuergezen, auf sein furgenumbne Rais nach Wallisch Landt zu seinen Allterlebten Vattern, auch seiner bishero wollverhalten vnd vleissigen Dienst halber. Hierüber bericht ich . . . daß benenter *Cazzolla* bey Ihr Fur. Dur. in die vier Jahr vleissig gedient, auch nie einige Ergezlickheit oder genadengelt angehalten oder suppliciert, auch diser Zeit bey seinen Dienst ohne Clag verhalten vnd vleissig beygewart. Ihr Fur Dur. khünen Ime, ohne mein Maßgebung . . . mit 100 Cronen ergezen. *Pier' Ant[oni]o Bianchi.*

Request granted:

Ferdinand. — Hofpfennigmaister solle *Joann Andreae Cozolae* 100 fl. gnad vnd zerung bezallen. Gräz, 27 Juny 1608.

19. HK 1611-IX-45

Giovanni Andrea Cocciola to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo Arciduca sig[no]re et sig[no]re clementiss[i]mo. — Già tre uolte V.A. Ser[enissi]ma há comandato al fenich Mastro [Pfennigmaister], che mi fussero pagati cento Corone quali sborsai p[er] V.A. Ser[enissi]ma già tre anni fa alle nozze del sig[no]r Pietro Francesco Ferreri, et la sig[no]ra figliuola del sig[no]r Marchese di Borgauo, et per che uedo, che non posso essere sattisfatto dal fenich Mastro, torno di nouo con ogni humiltà supplicare V.A. Ser-[enissi]ma che comandi, che detti dannari mi siano pagati sopra la Muta di Vordernperg . . . V.A. Ser[enissi]ma humilis[si]mo et deuotis[si]mo Ser[vito]re *Gio[vanni]. Andrea Cozzola.* 1611 September 15.

Request granted:

Ambtman in Vordernberg solle *Joan Andreen Cozola* 150 fl. guetmachen. Gräz den 15 September 1611.

20. HK 1613-VI-15

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.
Ferdinandt. — Getreuer lieber. *Georg*[!] *Anndreen Cocciola,* so vns etliche musicallische Pücher verehrt, wollest alsbalden nach dises vernembung zwainzüg gulden Rh. zuestellen... Gräz den 4. Junij Anno 1613.

21. HK 1615-XI-32

Giovanni Andrea Cocciola to Archduke Ferdinand.
Ser[enissi]mo Principe sig[no]re clementis[si]mo. — Da un anno in qua mi trouo quasi sempre amalato per una indispositione che mi vẽne nel uiaggio di Viena et anco per trouarmi gionto alla vecchiezza, son ridotto à non poter piu resistere alle fatiche della Musica con mio gran danno, onde son sforzato ritrouandomi non esser io bono piu in questi paesi ne per V.A. Ser[enissi]ma ne per me et andar sempre peggiorando, a dimandar bona e gratiosa licentia purche potessi ottenar qualche gratia dalla sua solita clementia hauendo io seruito da dodeci anni, et essendo andato ne i uiaggi occorsi si di Ratisbona, come anco di Viena et Morauia ne quali è declinata molto la uita mia, et non hauendo mai hauuto gratia alcuna, in tutto il tempo, che seruo solo una uolta cento fiorini per un uiaggio che feci in Piemonte mia Patria, oltra che ho seruito tutto questo tempo con il primo salario, ... vengo con ogni humiltà et riuerentia ... a farmi gratia di concedermi la prouisione di cento fiorini l'anno, accio possa uiuere sotto l'ombra di V.A. Ser[enissi]ma questi pochi giorni che m'auanzano, ouer mi facia gratia di cinque cento tallari si per la seruità fatta come anco per la gratia che V.A. Ser[enissi]ma è solita a fare à chi si parte dal suo seruitio con bona gratia, et son altri che hanno riceuuto piu di questo, et non hanno seruito tanto tempo come ho fatto io ... *Gio. Andrea Cocciola* Musico.
Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Giovanni Priuli.
Parte a me che sia degno di gratia il deto suplicante esendo stato homo di buona seruito et hà seruito honoratamente. *Gio*[*vanni*] *P*[*riul*]*i Ca*[*pel*] *M*[*aestro*].
Request granted:
Dieweil *Gio: Andrea Cocciola* vmb erlassung seines nun mehr in die 12 Jar bey vns gehabten Dienst gehorsamist angehalten vnd benebens vmb g[nädig]ste erthailung einer abferttigung vnd Prouission ... vndterthänigst gebetten, haben wir ihme für alles vnd alles 300 fl. zueraichen g[nädig]st verwilligt. Befehlen dir derowegen hiemit in g[naden] daß du seiner bishero gehabten besoldung halben ihme Cocciola ehist ordenlich abraittest vnd den befindenden ausstandt, neben besagten 300 fl. abferttigung zuestellest... 11. Nouembris [1]615.

CORNAZZANI, Baldassare

22. HK 1572-V-70

The Graz Court trumpeter Baldassare Cornazzani and father of Fileno Cornazzani to the Archduchess Maria, consort of Archduke Karl and daughter of duke Albrecht V. in München.
Durchleuchtigiste Erzherzogin ... Weill ich ain alter Dienner bin, auch Weib vnd Khindt hie hab, damit Ir Fur. Dur. mir ain Pläzl alhie bey dem Eyssnen [eisernen] Thor, da Ir. Für. Dur. Windtspill der Zeitt gehalten werdten, souill desselbigen Orths, nach der Statt Maur vnd der Neuen Pasteyen halben, vberbleiben würde, zu aufpawung ainer wonung für mich vnd die meinigen, gnädigist

bewilligen wolten . . . Vnd ich nit allain in Eur Fur. Dur. diennsten, sondern auch mein eheleiblicher Sun [= Fileno Cornazzani] Eur Für. Dur. geliebsten Herrn vnd Vatters lange Jar her Musicus ist, langt demnach an Eur Für. Dur. mein . . . pitt Eur Für. Dur. geruechen bey... derselben geliebsten Herrn vnd Gemachel... fürzupitten, auf das Ir Für. Dur. mir das obangeregt Pläzl sambt den Stainen so darbey ligen, zur zuerichtung ainer sollchen Wonung . . . verwilligen wöllen . . . *Balthasar Carnazzani,* Irer Für[stlich] Durch[laucht] Trometer vnd Musicus, 1572 April 12.

23. HK 1573-IX-86

Baldassare Cornazzani to Archduke Karl.
Durchleichtigister Erzherzog . . . Weillendt der Rö[mischen] Khay[serlichen] Ma[jestä]t Eurer Für. Dur. geliebsten Herrn vnd Vattern [= Ferdinand I.] hochleblichister gedächtnus vnd Eurer Für. Dur. dien ich nun in das zwaivnd-zwanzigiste Jar her . . . bin auch in solicher langen Zeit von wegen der vilfeltigen Raisen zu mehrmallen gar tödtlich khranckh gelegen . . . Vnd obwol mir nun angezaigt worden, wie das E. Fur. Dur. mir vber mein beschehnes . . . anlangen 72 fl. Rh. zu Prouision . . . verwilligt worden, so hette ich doch . . . verhofft, mir wuerde aufs wenigist der halbe Thail meiner bisher von Eurer Für. Dur. gehabten besoldung der 216 fl. eruolgt sein. Derowegen vnd auch in bedenkhung, das ich meines gesichts aus solichen meinen zuestandnen Khranckhaiten dermaßen beraubt bin, daß ich dem Durchleichtigisten Fürsten vnd Herrn Herrn Albrechten, Herzogen in Bayrn, Eurer Fur. Dur. gelibsten Herrn vnd Vettern bei dem mir aus genaden bewilligten dienst vber zwai oder aufs maiste drei Jar lang nit verharen wirdt khünen noch mügen, so langt . . . mein . . . bit, weil E. F. D. alle derselben Diener zu irem abzug dermassen mit allen gnaden abgefertigt . . . E. F. D. geruehen mir aufs wenigist die 108 fl. R. als den halben Thail obberüerter meiner von E. Für. Dur. gehabten besoldung zu järlicher Prouision mein lebenlang g[näd]ist zu bewilligen . . . *Balthaser Cornazani,* musicus vnd Trometer.
Request granted: Archduke Karl to the Court Chamber.
Carl. — Vnser genediger beuelch ist an euch, das vnserm gewesten Zinkhenblaser *Balthasarn Cornazani* ain Prouisionsbrieff auff järlich 80 fl. vnd sein lebenlang vom eingang khunftigs monats octobris fertigen zu lassen . . . Gräz 27. Septembris [15]73.

24. HK 1596-VII-58

The Graz Court Instrumentist and editor of the Motets of Simone Gatto and Annibale Perini, Orazio Sardena to Archduke Ferdinand, son of Archduke Carl.
Serenissimo et clementissimo Prencipo. Auendo dato V. A. S. comesione ch[e] sia sadisfato e paghato il mio cio *Baldisera Cornazani* p[er] co[n]to della sua prouesion, ne p[er] questo no[n] poso esere contentato, vmilme[n]te pregho V. A. S. ch[e] voglia coma[n]dare, ch[e] il pouero vechia sia pagato . . . a trieste . . . Di V. A. S. minimo seruitore *Oratio Sardena.*
Request granted:
Einnemmer zu Triest solle *Balthasarn Caranzanj* sein ausstendige Prouision richtig machen. Graz, den 15. Juli [15]96.

25. HK 1599-III-48

The former Graz Court Trumpeter Baldassare Cornazzani to the Graz Court Chamber.
Esendo comesione del Serenissimo Prencipe Ferdinando, ch[e] io sia paghato ogni año senza altro p[er] conto de la mia prouesio[n]e . . . io son un pouero

vechio apreso otanta Ani e... non ho altro da spe[n]dere senon questa poca de prouision... Di V. S. Ill[ustrissi]me humillissimo seruitore *Baldisera Cornazzani.*

Request granted:

Ferdinand. — Vnser... beuelch ist hiemit an dich [Einnehmer zu Triest], das du *Walthasern Cornazani,* gewesten Musico alhie, sein Ime bey deiner Ambts Verwaltung ausstendige Prouision der 80 fl. vom ferttigen Jar, mit dem eheisten richtig machen vnd bezallen wellest... Graz, den 7. Martij A[nn]o [15]99.

26. KR 1601, Vol. 67, fol. 225

The Graz Court Chamber to the Amtleute in Triest.

Auf beiligundts *Balthasari Cornazanij* seiner von einem Jar ausstendigen Prouision... das Ir Ime dieselb welliche seinem anzeigen nach gleich 80 gulden bringen soll... entrichtet. Graz den 4. Mai 1601.

27. KR 1602, Vol. 68, fol. 140v

The Graz Court Chamber to the Amtleute in Triest.

Einnember Ambtleuth zu Triest sollen *Horatio Sardena* des *Balthasern Cornazani* seeligen hinterstellige Provision bezallen. Was bey vnns *Horatio Sardena* der Ihenigen weillendt *Balthasern Cornazani* bey Eurer Ambts Verwaltung ausstendigen Provision vnnd derselben bezallung halber gehorsamist angebracht, das weiset der einschluß mit mehreren auß. Zu fall nun die sachen supplicierter-massen beschaffen vnnd Ir darwider khain erhebliche bedenkhen habet, so sollet Ir, inmassen vnnser beuelch hiemit ist, Ine *Sardena* gebürlichen befridigen, da es sich aber etwan annders erhielte, Vnns dessen mit Euerm rättlichen guetachten berichten... Graz den 11. Martij 1602.

FERRABOSCO, Matthia

28. HK 1611-XII-17

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.

Ferdinand. — Gethreuer lieber, Vnsern HofInstrumentisten vnd CapelSingern, welche wür widerumben van dannen alhaimbs nach Gräz schickhen, wollest Du nach Vernembung dits alsbaldt das Lüffergelt auf 17 Persohnen als 42 fl. 30 Kr. das ist auf ainen jeden zween Taller zu zechen schilling zuuerstehn, zuhanden vnserm Vice Capelmaister *Mathiasen Ferobosco* dargeben... Den 14. December A° 1611 zu Wien.

29. HK 1612-IX-23

The Graz Hofkapellmeister-Amtsverwalter Matthia Ferrabosco to Archduke Ferdinand.

Al Ser[enissi]mo Principe Ferdinando Arciduca d'Austria Sig[no]re Sig[no]re Gratiosiss[i]mo Humil Memoriale di *Matthia Ferrabosco* per li stromenti concessi da S. A. S. alle M[ol]to R[everen]da Prioressa di Gratz. Alquanti mesi sono, che V. S. A. fece gratia alla M[ol]to R[everen]da Madre Prioressa del Monasterio dell' ordine di S[an]to Domenico di Gratz de alcuni instrumenti da fiato per la musica delle sue Monache in Chiesa; et perche in tutti gl'instromenti di V. S. A. non ci e fagotto, ne Bassanella vn ton basso à suo proposito, ne meno habbiamo flauti per loro, ne per noi, secondo che V. A. S. mi commando, ordinai al Mastro *Salimbruno,* che li facesse in Venetia, et egli ha fatto scriuere al *Thadei* organista [= Alessandro Tadei], che presto saranno all' ordine.

Costano il fagotto et la Bassanella . . . . . K 19 : 36:

Et piu vna dozena di canne per ciascuno . . . . . K 1 : 24:
Tre flauti discanti per il seru [izio] della Musica di V. A. S. cioe vno in tono, l'altro alla quarta, et il terzo alla quintadecima et doi cornetti in tono . . . . . K 9 : 24:
Piu doi altri flauti p[er] la R. M[a]dre Prioressa, l'uno un ton basso, et l'altr'alla quinta . . . . . K 2 : 12:

Summa K 32 : 36:

Percio prego . . . V. S. A. che voglia ordinare con vna sua gratiosa Commissione al S. Tadoldo M[aest]ro di Poste in Venetia, o uero al suo tenente che paghi li detti instromenti, et li faccia ben accomodare in doi fagotelli, et li mandi à Gratz con l'ordinario. Di V. S. A. Humiliss[i]mo et deuotiss[i]mo ser[vito]re *Matthia Ferrabosco.*

The Graz Court Chamber to the Postmeister in Venezia.

Alter vester lieber Freündt Herr Tadoldo. Aus hierinligunder Verzaichnus oder Memorial werdet Ir mit mehrern zuuernemben haben, was Ir Für. Dur. vnser g[nädig]ster Herr vnd Landtsfürst in dero Hof Capelln für musicalische vndterschidliche Instrumenta, derzeit bedürfftig sein, vnd vns, diselben durch Euch bestellen zu lassen . . . anbeuolchen. Darauf so ersuechen in derselben Namen wir Euch hiemit, das Ir solche darin specifierte Instrumenta daselbst zu Venedig alsbaldt nicht allain bestellen, sondern auch dieselben hieher mit eheister müglighkhait befürdern wöllet . . . Graz, den 3. Septembris 1612.

MUTIS, conte di Cesana, Bartolomeo

30. HK 1605-XI-38

Orazio, conte di Cesana to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo et benignissimo Prencipe. Confidato nella benignità di V. A. S. . . . la supplico per un fauore. Ritornando dalla guerra d'Ongaria, doue son stato col. S.r Conte di Colalto da cinque mesi, et essendo uenuto qui con animo di trouar mio fratello [Bartolomeo], il Conte cappellano di V. A. S. et da esso hauer comodità d'andarmene in mia patria, ho inteso che sia partito per Pollonia. La onde ritrouandomi mal prouisto . . . *Horatio* conte di Cesana.

Report of the Hofkammer in Graz.

Graf *Horatius von Cesana* beclagt sich, nachdem er fünf Monat vndter dem Grauen von Collalto in Hungern gediennt, vnd anjezo hieheer khomben, verhoffent seinen Bruedern Eur Für. Drl. Capellan allda anzutreffen vnd von demselben Zerung, damit er anhaimb verraisen möchte, zu bekhomben, nun aber vernemben müessen, das gedachter sein brueder mit der Khünigelichen Braut [= Archdukess Constantia] beglaittung in Poln sich begeben, . . . Bitte demnach Eur Für. Drl. wollten Ime in abschlag seines brueders besoldung 20 fl. . . . fürstrekhen . . .

Request granted:

Pfennigmaister solle *Horatio von Cesana* 20 fl. Zerung dargeben.
Gräz, 9. Nouembris 1605.

31. HK 1611-VI-59

The early monodist Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana to Archduke Ferdinand.

Al Ser[enissi]mo Pincipe Ferdinando Arciduca d'Austria, S[ignore]mio et P[ad]rone col[endissi]mo per Bartolameo de Motij Conte di Cesana.

Bartolameo de Montij Conte di Cesana supplica humilissim[en]te V. A. Ser-

[enissi]ma à degnarsi di far li gratia della Sta Barbara in Wipacc uacata per morte di Don *Pietr' Antonio* [*Bianco*] Preposto di Solo, [= Maria Saal] conforme alla buona intentione, che si è compiacciuta dargliene, che lo riceuerà per fauor singolariss.^e^ da V.A.Ser.^ma^, quam Deus etc. [without signature]. N[ieder] Ö[sterreichische] C[ammer] g[utachten] auf *Bartlmeen de Mutis von Cesana* wegen Verleichung ainer Caplaney zu Wippach. — Irer Für. Dur. vnserm gnedigisten Herrn von dero N. Ö. Camer auf *Bärtolmeen de motj grafen von Cesäna* vmb verleichung ainer Caplaney zu Wippach, so mit ableiben Herrn *Petern Anthonien* gewesten Probsten zu Saall, vacierend worden sein solle, v̈berräichten vndterthenigisten Suppliciern, zu abgeforderten bericht, wie es nemblichen mit Verleichung besagtes Beneficii beschaffen sey, gehorsamist anzuzaigen. Er erscheine aus beiligunder... Articel, das denen Herrn von Lantheri neben der Herrschaft Wippach vnd Reiffenberg, auch der Pänkhürchen Thuern sambt der zuegeherigen Caplanei Lechensgerechtigkheit hinumb gelassen worden vnd da nun der Supplicant vmb dise Caplanei einkhäme, wurde Innen von Lantheri als Lechensherrn dits orts, nicht woll fürzugreiffen sein, wofern er aber ein anders Beneficium maine, darumb die N. Ö. Camer wenig oder vil, nicht wissen khün, da mechte ires gehorsamisten Erachten von besagtes Herrn *Peter Anthonien* selligen hinderlaβnen Erben aigenthumblicher bericht, wo vnd vnter wemb dasselb lige, abgefordert, als dan der Supplicant der gebür nach beschiden werde... Gräz, den 18. May 1611.
Den Supplicanten hierüber mündtlich zu fragen vnd zuuernemben, welches Beneficium er vermaine vnd ist volgundts zu verrer berathschlagung zu geben. 19. Junij 1611.

32. HK 1611-X-10
Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.
Ferdinand. — Gethreuer lieber, wir beuelhen dier hiemit... das du vnserm HofCaplan *Bartlmeen Demutis Grafen von Cesana* den jenigen Pecher in werth p[er] 37 fl. 7 Kr. 2 s., so wier *Paullen Veraldo* Romano, auf sein gehaltne hochzeit... geschenkht, anhendigen wöllest... Graz, den 2. October Anno 1611.

33. HK 1612-VI-16
Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana to Archduke Ferdinand.
Duchleichtigister Erzherzog... In erwegung das ich numehr fünf Jahr lang in dero diensten sowoll alhie zw̃ hoff als auf den Raisen dermassen embsig in verrichtung des Gottesdienst eüferig in meinen gebett zw̃ Gott vmb Eur Frl. Drl. glückhliche langwürige Reg[ierung]... daβ nit allein mier andere dessen khünnen Zeugnus geben, sondern auch Eur Für. Dr. darob verhoffentlich ein genedigistes gefallen bishero getragen haben, wie auch dan bedacht mich hinführo dergestalt zuuerhalten, daβ E. Fur: Dur. gnedigist zufriden sein sollen. Wan ich dan in meiner jezt obligunden hochen Noth Euer Für. Dur. gnedigister hülff vnd gnadt bedörftig, langt an Euer Für. Dur. mein demüetigist Suppliciern, sie wolle in erwegung meiner derselben treuen gelaisten dienst, deren ich von ihr mit einer Extraordinarij gnadt nie bin ergezt worden, wie ich dan dieselb niemals angelangt, mier als ein geistlicher Euer Für. Dur. vndterthenigisten Diener dise gnadt widerfahren vnd ein Paβbrief entweder auf 300 Ochsen oder 2000 Viertl gethraidt aus dero Landen zufhüren gnedigist bewilligen... das ich Zeit meines Lebens nit allein. E. Für. Dur., sondern auch des ganzen höchlöblichsten Haus Österreich Mildigkhait rüehmen will... *Bartolameus de Mutijs, Comes Cesane* vestrae serenitatis humillimus sacellanus. 1609 Mai 12.

Paβbrief für *Bartholomeen de Mutijs* Hof Caplan per 600 Stär waiz.
Wir Ferdinand embieten N. allen vnd jeden vnsern nachgesezten Obrigkhaiten, Gerichten, Stetten, Märkhten ... insonderhait aber denen Mautnern, Aufschlegern, Einnemern, Bstandleuthen ... vnser genad geben Euch hiemit gnedigkhlich zuuernemen, das wir dem erbarn andechtigen vnserm Hofcaplan vnd Musicum *Bartholomeum de Mutijs,* vmb seiner vns gelaisten vnd noch imerforth laistenden vleissigen diennste dise gnad gethan, das er ... 600 Stär waiz aus vnseren Erbfürstenthumben vnd Landen aller Mauth vnd aufschlag frey verfüehren vnd verhandlen möge. Euch ... beuelchen, daβ ir jezternantem *Bartholomeen de Mutijs* oder seinem Yberhaber dises vnseres Paβbriefs die bemelten 600 Stär waiz nicht allein Mauth vnd aufschlagsfrei, sondern auch sonsten ganz vngehindert vnd vnaufgehalten passim oder fortkhomen lassen ... wöllet ... Gräz, 5. Octobris [1]609.

34. HK 1618-II-108

Bartolomeo Mutis, conte di Cesana to King Ferdinand.
Sono passati hormai 14 anni, ch'io seruo a S. R. M^ta^ senza hauerla mai molestata (p[er] causa mia però)se no[n] già fà 10 anni, nel qual tempo S. M^ta^ R. benignamente mi concessa un passaporto di grano ... Cappelano *Bart[olome]o Conte di Cesana.*
Herr *Bartlmee Conte di Cesana* hof Caplan, dient auf dato in das dreyzechente Jar, neben der Tafl zu Hof mit järlichen 288 fl. besoldung, 25 fl. Zuepueβ vnd 21 fl. claidungs vnterhaltung. Sum̄ariter 334 fl. Gnadengaben: Anno 1612 ain Paβbrief auf 1000 Stär waiz thuet 500 fl. Souil zu gehorsamen bericht. An die hochlöb[liche] HofCamer Hofpuechhalters gehorsams bericht[en].
Request granted:
Paβbrief für *Barthlmeen Cesana de Mutis* Hof Caplan p[er] 1000 Stär waiz in gelt 500 fl. Gräz, den 26. Febr[uar] 1618.

35. HK 1619-II-7

Paβbrief auf *Bartlmeen de Mutis* oder[!] *Cesana* p[er] 543 Stär waiz, so ime zu ainer gnad bewilligt. Gräz, 20. Feb[er] 1619.

36. HK 1625-V-40

Report of the Hofbuchhalter Khindsperger to the innerösterreichische Hofkammer (Fürst Ulrich von Eggenberg).
An die hochlöblich I. Ö. Hoff Camer dero vndtergebner Puchhalters vndterthenig: vnd gehors[amister] bericht. Den gewesten Hof Caplan Herrn *Bärtlmeen de Mutijs conte di Caesana* betreff[end].
Vber des abgeleibten *Bartlmeen de Muttijs Conte di Caesana* gewesten Hof-Caplan, hinterlaβnen brueders [Giovanni], bey Ihr May. eingewent allergehor-[samistes] Supliciern p[er] erthailung ainer abferttigung, welches von hechstgedacht Ihr May. herein remitiert, vnd bericht auch guetachten abgefordert worden, zaig deroselben ich hiemit souil gehor[samist] an, daβ ermelter Herr *Bärtlmee* primo April Anno 1604 mit 288 fl. besoldung, 25 fl. Zuepueβ vnd järlichen 21 fl. Claidergelt, so zusamben 334 fl. bringt, für ainen Hof Caplan vnd Tenoristen aufgenomben vnd sambt ainen Jungen, bey der Cammerdiener Tafl gespeist worden. Weiln er nun vngeuähr a[nn]o [1]623 oder [1]624 Todts verschiden, belaufft sich sein gelaiste Diensts Zeit in das 19. Jahr. Vnter solcher Zeit hat er (auser was aus der gehaimben Camer beschechen sein mecht) der befindung nach sonst khein gnad als am 8. Juny a[nno] 1612 vnd widerumben

26. Februarij a[nno] 1618 ain Paβbrieff jeden auf 1000 Stär gethraidt, dauon die gebür in allem 1000 fl. bringt, empfangen ... Khindsperger.

Report of Fürst Ulrich von Eggenberg to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Allerdurchleuchtigister ... Römischer Khayser ... Vber des abgeleibten Priester *Bartholomeen de Mutis Conte di Cesana* gewesten Hof Capplan hinterlassnen brueders Johann bey Eur Khay: May: eingewendt: herein vmb bericht vnd räthliches guetachten eingeschlossenes alergehorsambistes Suppliciern p[er] erthaillung ainer abferttigung, werde ich berichtet, das ermelter Caplan primo Aprillis A° 1604 mit 288 fl. besoldung 25 fl. Zuepueβ vnd järlichen 21 fl. Claidergelt, so zusamben 334 fl. bringt für ainen HofCaplan vnd Tenoristen aufgenomben vnd samt ainen Jungen bey der Camer dienner Tafl gespeist worden. Weillen er nun vngefehr A[nn]o [1]623 oder 24 Todts fürworden, solle sich sein gelaiste dienstzeit in das 19. Jahr belauffen, vnter welcher Zeit er (auβer was aus der gehaimben Camer beschechen sein möcht) der befindung nach, sonst khain gnad als am 8. Juni A° 612 vnd 26 Febr. 618 ain Paaβbrieff ieden auf 1000 Stär getraidt, dauon die gebür in allem 1000 fl. bringt, empfangen, vnd ob der Hofpuechhalter in beyuerwahrten seinem bericht, woll vermaindt das gegen gemelten verstorbnen Cesana khain so gleiches Exempl verhanden, so hat sich doch die Hof Camer zuerindern, das Polidoro Locatell auch gewester Hof-Caplan, zu seiner abferttigung nur 300 fl. geben worden, welche oder doch merist in die 400 fl. auch disen Supplicanten ... verwilligt werden möchten ... Gräz, den 24. April A. 1625. Johann Ulrich Fürst von Eggenberg.

Request granted:

Hoffpfennigmaister solle *Johan Conte di Cesana* in ansehung seines brueders *Bartlmeen* verdienst 400 fl. richtig machen. 27 May A[nn]o [1]625.

PAGANINI, Paolo

37. HK 1618-I-3

The Graz Hofkapellknabenpräzeptor Paolo Paganini to King Ferdinand.

Sacra Reggia Maestà. Con ogni humiltà et riuerencia espongo A. V. M[aes]tà, come nel principio di mia seruitu mi promise il sig[no]re conte *Cesana* capelano di V.M^{ta} ch'io aueria auto cresimento di salario mentre chio auesi studiato et atteso con diligencia al debito seruitio di V. M^{ta} et poi che V. M^{ta} mi fece gratia di darmi il carico dei putti di capela, Ho sempre stato ta[n]to in presentia quante in absencia di V. M^{ta} diligente et fidele al obligo mio si come saro, in perpetuo; per cio ho soferto quatro anni con il salario di dodici fiorini al mese et non ho ardito da molestar V. M^{ta} sin hora, ma per le mie ultime malatie mortale costi et del figliolino in tanto tempo son indebitato pero per tale cagioni son sforzato a suplicar ... che per clementia de la Real bonta naturale di V. M^{ta} si conpiacia farmi donar dal sig[nor] *flosman* un bono aiuto di costa, acio che in tanto mi posa aitarmi; et poi sperar à bene placito di V. M^{ta} la gratia di acresimento e ancor chio non meritase, solo per l'antiqua seruitu di miei et io da fanciulo releuato con il mio padre nela corte del Ser. Arciducha Ferdinando in inspruche [= Innsbruck], come sa il sig[no]r *Gioan Pietro de Pomis* famosa uirtuoso et architeto di V.M^{ta} ... *Paolo Paganini.*

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Giovanni Priuli.

Hauendo io ueduta la supplica di *Paolo Paganini,* Musico di S. M. ... dico che si per il poco suo salario, come per la diligente sua seruitu e meriteuole d'esser gratiato da S. M. di qualche benigno aiuto per le presenti sue necessità ... *Gio. Priuli.*

Request granted:
Pfennigmaister solle *Paulen Paganini* 100 fl. gnad geben. Graz 2. Januarij 1618.

PATART (Batart), Antonio
cf. also Poss, Georg

38. HK 1584-XII-38

The Graz Court Instrumentist Antonio Patart to Archduke Karl.
Ser[enissi]mo Principe Sig[no]re Sig[n]ore clementissimo. Sono doi anni e tre mesi, ch'io seruo all' altezza uostra Serenissima con poco salario ne ho mancato de diligentia et solecitudine cosi nel seruitio di Vostra Altezza come anco nel studiare la tromba, la quale ho cominciata à sonar in corte con gli altri conpagni. Cosi saro anchora pronto a seruire con essa tromba... nelle guardie, come faccio nella Musica. Per il che uengo à supplicarla... che la uoglia farmi gratia di concedermi l'accrescimento della prouisione sino alli dodeci fiorini, si come e stabilito a gli altri suoi seruitori... *Antonio Patart.* 24 Decembris A[nn]o [15]84.

39. HK 1588-XII-24

Antonio Patart to Archduke Karl.
Ewer Fr. Dr. habe ich nun v̊ber das sechste Jar... gedienet, auch anfangs des Monats nur mit sechs, bishero aber vierzehen gulden besoldt worden... weill ich dan gleich wie andere Mitconsorten... bishero sowoll dem Trometen als auch sonsten der Music treulich abgewartet... als pit Eẘer F. D. ich... mir... mein iezige besoldung der vierzehen gulden noch mit zwen, also das ich völlig sechzehen gulden des monats hinfiro habe... zu bewilligen... Musicus vnd Trometer *Anthoni Patart.* Dezember [15]88.

POKHSTALLER, Ruprecht

40. HK 1616-V-49

The Graz and later Vienna Court Instrumentist Ruprecht Pokhstaller to Archduke Ferdinand.
... dieweil ich von ainem solchen Orth, als aus dem Closter Rein (alda ich mein lebenlang, als anderen meinen damalln gehabten gspanen widerfahrn, versehen gewest) vom Herrn Abt Georg seligen, durch Frl. Beuelch zu Euer Frl. Dht. HoffCapelln für ainen Discantisten genedigist bin abgefordert worden, dem ich auch in die 9 Jahr vndterthanig verhoffent bin, ohne Clag fürgestanden, vnd der Reinerisch Discant genent worden. Für ains. Dann zum andern. Dieweil bishero die Capellkhnaben gehorsamist diser Hoffnung gelebt, daß, wann sy ihre stimmen mutiert, entweders in den Studijs oder zu welchem instrument (wann sy khain stimb bekhomen oder darbei bleiben wolln) sy qualificiert von Hoff aus sein verlegt worden. Disen nun bin ich auch nit fehig worden, sondern hab mein patrimonium angriffen und darmit das wenig, so ich bishero ergriffen, erlernet. Drittens hab ich alle conditiones im Reich, die ich sowolln bei catholische als protestierende fürsten, nach verrichten Veltzügen hette haben khönnen, hindan gesezt vnd als ain gehorsames Lanndtkhindt, widerumb eingestelt darüber ich dan auch als Euer Frl. Dht. in die Neustadt verraist, de nouo angenomen worden.
... *Ruep Pockhstaller.*
Report of the Oberststallmaister Hans Jakob Khisl.
... weiln der Cappellmaister [Giovanni Priuli] von dises Sup^ten^ abdankhung kein Wissenschaft haben wölle vnd derselbe von Jugent auf bey E. F. Dht. Hof-

music gedient vnd sich gehorsamist gebrauchen lassen, dieselbe möchte ihne bey sollichem seinen Dienst noch hinfüro g[nä]dist verbleiben lassen, so helt doch die HofCamer gehorsamist darfür, weiln der Capellmaister allein im gehaim dem Herrn HofCamer Presidenten, die jenigen, so zue licendieren sein möchten namhaft gemacht, darauf dann ein ordenliche lista verfaßt vnd vorhero E. F. Dht. zum ersehen gehorsamist ist v̈berraicht worden, er wölle auch aniezo darumben vmb dise beurlaubung nichts wissen, damit nit, wan es sollte offenbahr werden, daß er disen vnd jenen zue licendieren gerathen, er dardurch aller derselben Haß vnd Feindtschafft auf sich lade. Sonsten aber ist gewiß, daß diser Supplicant nach den andern geurlaubt werde, solte er dann aniezo widerumben angenomen werden, köndten E. F. Dht. selbsten ... erachten, was für einen schädlichen nachfal es geberen wurde, ... man solle ihm aber 100 fl. Abfertigung geben.
Request granted:
Ferdinand. — Wiewol wir vnsern gewesten Hofmusicum vnd Trumetter *Rueppen Pokhstaller* neben andern vnsern Hofmusicis noch vor disem licendirt, so haben wir doch in ... erwegung seiner vns bishero langwährigen treügehorsamist gelaisten Dienste, ihme aus sondern gnaden ... zue einer abferttigung 100 fl. zu raichen bewilligt ... 23. Mai A° 1616.

41. HK 1620 XII-48

The Graz and later Vienna Court Instrumentisten Ferdinand de Vento, Johann Fabritius, Georg Zimmermann, Ruprecht Pokhstaller and Balthassar Pernstainer to Emporor Ferdinand II.
Allerdurchleichtigister ... Röm[ischer] Kay[ser] ... dero diener vnd officier ... von erzherzoglichen vnd khüniglichen nunmehr Khayserliche Diener worden ... Wir auch ... denen Instrumentisten vnd Hoff Thromettern geraichten khayserlichen Besoldung halber ein Verbesserung derselben, andern vnsern Mitconsorten gemäß zuehoffen, vns auch disergestalt nit miglich, auf die alberaith angesagte Rais zu begeben. Also bitten wir ... (in bedenckhen alle andere vnsere Mitconsorten, ja gar so kheine Instrumendisten vnd bloßmit der Trometten allein deroselben dienen, wenigist mit 20 vnd 24 fl. monatlichen bestalt) ... vns ... bis in die 20 fl. ... verbessern ... *Ferdinand de Vento, Johannes Fabricus, Georg Zimermann, Ruep Pokhstaller, Walthaser Pernstainer.*
Request granted:
Pfennigmaister solle *Ferdinanden De uento, Johan Fabritij, Georgen Zimerman, Rueppen Pokhstaller,* vnd *Balth[asar] Pernsteiner* hinfüro ainem jeden monatlich 20 fl. besoldung raichen. Wien am 6. December 1620.

42. HK 1635-VI-4

Report about the Graz and later Vienna Court Instrumentist Ruprecht Pokhstaller.
Bericht daß der Hofmusicus vnd Instrumentist *Rueprecht Pokhstaller* von seinem vnzeitigen begehrn einer gnadens Expectanz abgewisen werde ... der Supplicant anfangs 2 Jar für ain Capeln Khnab, hienach aber A° 1613 mit monatlich 12 fl. besoldung zu ainem Claid in wahrn 45 fl. dan Claidergelt 16 fl. für ain Instrumentisten vnd Trometter aufgenomen; A° 1616 aber neben andern wider licentiert und A° 1617 de nouo mit angedeuter vndterhaltung aufgenomen, welche järliche vndterhaltung Ime von A° 1620 außer des Claidts auf 420 fl. verbessert worden. Neben solcher besoldung hat er in Zeit seiner 21 jarigen Dienste zu vndterschidlichen mallen zur abfertigung, gnad, adiuto d'costa ... 387 fl. 30 Kr. empfangen. ... Graz, den 1. Juni [1]635.

POSS, Georg
cf. also Paul Rausch, No. 60. 61

43. HK 1597-XI-15.
The Graz Court Instrumentist Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.
Georg Poss per aufzuggelt. — Durchleichtigister Ertzhertzog zu Österreich, genedigister Herr, Auf *Petri Anthonij Bianci,* Eur. Für: Durchl. Elemosinarij vnd vnd Capelmeisters, an mich aldort zu Venedig beschehenes begern, daß ich mich in dero Ertzhertzoglichen Capeln alhie, für einen Musicum vnd Cornetisten gebrauchen lasse solle, habe ich mich der gebür vnd billigkeit nach, weill ich zwar dem hochlöblichem haus Österreich ohne das von Jugent auf gehorsambist gedient, alsbalt darzue bewegen lassen, vnd evestigio alher begeben. Wan dan nun Eur Für: Durchl: sich darüber gantz genedigist resolvirt, vnd mich meiner geringsten Qualification nach mit diensten versehen, so soll (: ob Gott will :) an meiner Person Treu, Vleiß, woluerhalten vnd müglicheit, nichts vermangeln, hiemit allein dieselbe in vnterthenigkeit bittundt, mich (damit ich meiner hieher gethonen Räis halber ein ergötzlicheit empfinden, vnd die Jhenige zu meiner Leibs Notturft gehörige sachen aus der Neustatt alhero, mit Bequemlicheit bringen lassen möge) mit einem genaden Gelt... zu bedenken, mich derselben beynebens zu gewerlichen gnedigisten beschaidt diemüttigist beuelchent. Eur Für: Dur: VnterThenigister gehorsambister *Georgius Poß.*
The document is dated from the Court Registratur with 9.X.1597.

44. 1599-III-74
Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.
Georg Poss Musicus bitt vmb nachlassung 100 fl. die Ime zu seiner Hochzeit fürgestreckht worden. Durchleichtigister Erzherzog... Wan nun ich neben meinen durch das ganze Jahr täglich werenden, schwären DienstsVerrichtungen, Alles dasjenig, so von Eur Für. Dur. mir in Compositionssachen genedigist auferlegt vnd anbeuolchen worden, zu dero... wolgefallen... vleissig, volzogen, So habe Eur Für. Dur. ich dessen nit allein hiemit berichten, sonder auch berürte meine möglichiste Dienst verrer... anbietten... wellen... Damit aber meiner... bemüehungen wegen, einer ergözlicheit empfinden... möge, so gelangt an dieselbe hierüber mein... ansinnen... Sy wollen mir auf dismall die... mir auff mein numehr längst verloffene hochzeitliche Freyden vätterlich dargestreckte hundert gulden sambt noch einer ergöblichen genadt aus dero erzherzoglichen Cammer, damit ich mein durch heyrat eroberte behausung, daran ich noch v̈ber die achthundert gulden restiere, möge erhalten vnd abzahlen, schencken... Euer Für. Dur. vnterthenigister gehorsambister *Georg Poss* Musicus vnd Instrumentist. — Resolution im Register. *The document is dated from the Court Registratur with 22.III.1599.*

45. HK 1601-II-15
Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.
Durchleichtigister Erzherzog zu Österreich... Welchermassen ich Euer Für. Drl. numehr schon ins viertteJahr für ein Musicum vnd Trometter vnterthenig... vngespart alles Vleiß gedient, achte ich Euer Für. Drl. werden es zweifelsohn in genedigister erwegung haben, als das ich nemblich so bey gering habundter besoldung nit allein neben andern ye vnd allezeit der Music vnd Trometerey ohn Versäumbnus beygewohnt, sonder auch sowoll mit nacht vnd täglicher stündtlicher Vnrhue, ohne sonderbare Vrsach khain ainige gelegenhait vnterlassen Euer Für. Drl. mit Vollendung vielfeltigs componirns gehorsamist zu contentirn, ge-

troster Hoffnung, daß sy solche mein absonderliche viell grösser dan mein rechte ordinary mühe, zweyfelsohn genedigist erkhennen weren, mit der ich, die Warheit zu bekhennen, meinen Khopf vor andern nit ein wenig schwechen vnd debilitirn mueß, welches alles ich, Gott weiß es bis dato gehrn thon auch hinführahn mit gewöhnlichen Lust vnd eüfer thän will vnd Euer Frl. Drl. gehrn vnbehölligt lassen wolt, wan mich die zeitliche noturft nit so hoch darzue dringen thät. Ist derowegen mein ... Bitten Euer Für. Drl. wellen ... mein der Zeit habunde ordinari hofbesoldung monattlich mit zwelff gulden aus dero gehäimen Camer genedigist zu bessern ... Euer Für. Dur. vnterthenigister vnd gehorsambister *Georg Poss.*

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco.

Gebiettunder Herr, was für ain gehorsambstes suppliciern *Georg Poss,* Instrumentist Irer Für. Dur. vbergeben, das hat der Herr mir vmb meinem bericht angehendigt ... Demnach Supplicant zwo niht vnerhöblihe Vrsachen, nemblichen die erste der anjezo werenden eysseristen Theurung wegen, dan die ander sein extra ordinari Verrichtung des villfeltigen Componierns, vnd der dienst nächt vnd täglicher Vnruhe fürwendet ... Dieweil ich aber seines begerns halber ... in bedenkhung der Ime durch Ir Für. Dur. extraordinari anbefollhnen Compositionen höchsternenter für. Dur. khein mass noch ordnung fürschreiben khan, so werden Ime dieselben Irem genedigisten gefallen zu beschaiden wissen ... *Pier Ant[oni]o Bianco.*

Report of the Court Chamber:

... *Georg Poss* ... 18 fl. monatlich ... bey ainem solchen Diennst, da ainer nit so gar stündlich verbunden, sondern maniche Wochen khaumb drey oder viermall zu diennen, also das er dahero extraordinarij woll was verrichten khan, ein zimbliche vnderhaltung seye. Graz, 26. Jänner 1601.

Resolution:

Aufzuheben dann der Supplicant von Irer Für. Drl. selbst ... bescheidt empfangen.

46. Kammer 1604-IV-10

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.

Beuelch an Hofpfennigmaister, daß *er Georg Possen* für *Martin Keller* vnd *Jacoben Patarten* des Monats yeden 10 fl. cost vnd lerngelt bezallen wölle. 1604.

47. HK 1604-IV-91

Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.

Durchleuchtigister Erzherzog ... werden sich genedigist zuerinndern haben, wie das bey dero der khönig. Mayt. in Polln [= Sigismund III] Musicus *Anthonj Betärt* [Patart] wegen seines jungsten Bruedern denselben bey mir lernen zulassen, vndterthenigist angehalten, welches von dero obristen Herrn Stalmaister als meiner fürgesezten Obrigkhait, in Namen E. Frl. Dht. mir genedigist vnd gnedig anbeuolchen worden. Nun wäre mir nichts liebers, als daß ich in der Musica vnd Kunst also erfaren, das ich solchen auf allen mir khündigen Instrumenten zu E. Frl. Drl. genedigisten Satisfaction khündt vnd möchte instruiern, wie dan an meinem fleiß ainicher mangl [nicht] erscheinen soll. Nebens aber khann E. Frl. Dht. ich höchstgetrungner noth anzubringen nit vmbgehen, wie das derselben Capelmaister Herr *Peter Anthonj* [*Bianco*] Brobst im Saall, mir vngeuer vor sechs Jarn ain Capelkhnaben namens *Martin Kheller,* denselben auf dem Clarin zelehrnen fürgestelt, Den ich nun zway ganzer Jar, bestem Vermügen nach, instruiert. Nachmals aber ist solcher Knab in E. Frl. Dht. Namen von mehrgedachtem Herrn *Petter Anthonj* aus der Capelln genomben, vnd mir auf dem

Cornet zelehrnen mit monatlichen 8 fl. völliger vndterhaltung eingeantworth worden, welchen ich auch drey ganzer Jar nit allain müglichisten fleiβ nach, zum besten so weit sich mein khunst erstrekht vnd er wie khündig erlehrnen mügen, vndterwisen. Nun aber haben E. Frl. Drl. dises, das ich mit den monatlichen 8 fl. auf Cost, Claidung, Losament, Wascherlohn vndt allerlay täglichen notwendigkhaiten bey weittem nit geuolgen mügen, sondern järlich vill ain mehrers spendiern müessen (und da ich diennsts halber Zeit het, Khnaben zur Lehrnung, das mir von aim järlich für die plosse Müehe v̈ber die 65 fl. neben anndern victualien gegeben wurde, haben kündte:) genedigist zu bedenkhen. Ist derowegen mein . . . bitten, nit allain mein mit solchen Khnaben fünfjärige Müehe, auch bey Tag vnd Nacht angewenten fleiβ, sondern gleichsfals des vnemperlichen Einpiessens, so auf disen Khnaben die 3 Jar, uber die monatlichen 8 fl. lauffen müessen gnedigist zuerwegen, mich mit ainer . . . Recompens . . . zu bedenkhen. Solches vmb E. Frl. Dht. zuuerdienen will ich die Zeit meines Lebens gehorsambist beflissen sein . . . Eur Für. Durl. vndterthenig: vnd gehorsamister *Georg Poss.* 1604 April 28.
Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco.
Durchleuchtigister Erzherzog . . . *Georg Poss,* Eur. Frl. Drl. Musicus . . . gibt . . . zuerkhenen, daβ Er ein Capelkhnaben nambens *Marthin Keller* zwey ganzer Jar lang auff dem Clarin und darnach drey andere Jar nacheinander auff dem Cornet mit monatlichen acht gulden für Cost, Khleidung, Losament, Wescherlohn vnd allerley tägliche Notwendigkheit gelehret habe . . . Dieweill jeztverstandner Supplicant eines andern Capellkhnaben *Hanns Jacoben Patart,* so Er vor zwey Monathen in sein Disciplin vnd Lehr auf Eur Frl. Drl. . . . beuelch angenumben, meldung thuet, Eur Frl. Drl. wöllen Ime in simili für alle seine Anforderung . . . in allen zechen gulden des Monats . . . passieren . . . *Pier' Ant[oni]o Bianco* manu p[ro]pria.

48. HK 1604-VII-71

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco about Lucas Marinus.
. . . *Lucas Marinus* mit hiebeiligundem Suppliciern gibt Ir Fur. Dhl. . . . zuerkhenen, daβ Er vor disem, vnder des Herrn Georg Abt zu Victring [Kärnten] protection etwo in Österreich auf allerlay Instrumente zu musicirn geiebt vnd Irer Frl. Drl. daselbst ain Zeitlang vleissig . . . gedient haben solle. Allweillen aber sein gewester Herr vnd Lehrmaister mit Todt abgangen, seie er verursacht worden, sein glegenheit weiter zuesuchen. Bit derohalben . . . vmb ain Instrumentisten Stell in . . . Irer Fur. Dhl. Capell neben andern seinesgleichen Instrumentisten . . . Hierauf . . . berichte . . . daβ der Supplicant ain khunstreiche Persohn vnd des *Possen* Schuellgesell ist, der zweiffelsfrey seine Profidirunde Khunst nit allein recht khünnen sondern auch nach vnd nach, je lenger, je besser erlernen . . . würdet . . . *Pier' Ant[oni]o Bianco.* Ist abgewisen worden 24. July 1604.

49. HK 1606-IV-6

The Graz Hofkapellnotist and Singer Georg Kugelmann to Archduke Ferdinand.
Durchleichtigister Erzherzog . . . auf Eur Frl. Drl. genedigisten beuelch hab ich des *Georgen Possen* Muteten in duplo, erstlichen in Eur Frl. Drl. Capelln, dan zum andern für dero fürstliche Cammer notirt vnd geschriben. Darfur mir aber bishero das wenigst geuolgt . . . Nottist *Georg Kuglmann.*
Request granted:
Ambtman im VordernPerg solle *Georgen Khugelman* vmb notirte musicalische sachen 12 C[enten] Gattereisen dargeben. Gräz, den 2. Aprill 1606.

Report of Graz Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco.
... mir ist *Geörgen Khuglmans* Supplication vmb meinem Bericht zuekhomen, das Er des *Geörgen Possen* Muteten so zw̃ 8 : 10 : 12 : vnd 16 Stimen lautten, Inn dupla vleissig geschriben, dieselben auch ich v̈bersehen. Vnd wann man nun von ainem Plat, deren dann in die 952 sein, ain Groschen (weliches dann Er woll verdient hett) raitten vnd darfür bezallen soll, so brächt es sibenundvierzig gulden sechsunddreissig Khreizer vnd wäre nit zuuill, ... *Pier' Ant[oni]o Bia[n]co.*

50. HK 1607-VII-112

Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.
Durchleichtigister Erzherzog ... haben sich allergenedigist zuerinnern, daß deroselben ich, verwichnen Januari wegen meiner auch von Eur F. D. mir vntergebnen Knaben *Jacoben Patärden* von dreyen Jahren hero austendigen ordinari Klaidungen halben ein Supplication gehorsamist übergeben, in erwegung daß ich gemelten Knaben solche lange Zeit von dem meinigen mit Klaidung versehen, dan auch zu bezallung meines erkauften heüßlein mir solches in gelt wie sonsten gebreuchig genedigist wiederfahren zu lassen, welches Eur. F. D. mir allergenedigist verwilligt, auch solches von dero hochlöblichen Cammer mit ehisten zu bezallen verschafft worden. Derweiln ich aber dasselbig bis dato ... nit habhaft künen werden, ... so gelangt derowegen an Eur F. D. mein ... bitten ... die wolten verschaffen, damit mir solches mit ieziger bezallung meiner monatlichen hoffbesoldung auch entrichet werde. Eur F. D. vnterthenig vnd gehorsamister *Georg Poss.*
Request granted:
Vermahnung an Pfennigmaister wegen *Georgen Possen* vnd seines lehrjungen *Jacoben Petärden* ausstendigen Claidergelt. Gräz, 23. July [1]607.

51. HK 1607-XII-16

Archduke Maximilian (as substitute of his brother Ferdinand) to the Hofpfennigmeister.
Pfennigmaister solle *Georgen Widmanstetter,* von *Georgen Possens* wegen vnd denselben zu gnaden für getruhkte Muteten 400 fl. bezallen. — [Erzherzog] Maximilian. — Seitemallen vnser freundtlicher vnd geliebter Herr Brueder Erzherzog Ferdinand zu Österreich, dero HofPuechtrukhern alhie *Georgen Widmanstetter* gnedigist beuelchen lassen, des *Georgen Possen* componirte mutteten oder[!] Messen vnd derselben 150 Exemplär im Trukh zu uerfertigen vnd demselben darfür, allain dem *Possen* zu genaden 400 fl. in allem zu geben zuegesagt vnd versprochen haben, so beuelchen wir dir hiemit in gnaden, daß du gedachtem *Widmanstetter* die verglichnen 400 fl. ... guetmachen wöllest; doch sollen dieselben dem *Possen* ins khunfftig zu ainer gnad zuezuschreiben nit vergessen werden ... Gräz, den 17. December 1607. An Hofpfennigmaister.

52. HK 1611-VII-21

Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.
An Ir Für. Dur. Herrn Herrn Ferdinanden Erzherzog zu Österreich. Eur für. Dhr. mit disem meinen vndterthenigisten Supplicirn zu behelligen, hab ich auß hochtringender eüsserister noth Ir nit vmbgehen können. Vnnd ist deroselben gnedigist bewust, das nunmehr im Januario negsthin vierzehen Jar völlig verstrihen, als Ich von weillendt deroselben gewesten Capellmaistern vnnd Probsten im Saal Herrn *Peter Anthonien Bianco* von Venedig auß (Aldahin von meinem

auch genedigisten Herrn Erzherzogen Maximiliano dem Eltern zu Österreich etc. Ich zu besserer fortsetzung meiner Musicalischen Studien verschickht gewest vnd drey Jar verbleiben sollen) durch vilfältiges starkhes vnnd vnauβgeseztes anhalten, zusagen vnnd vertrösten endtlichen soweit vermögt worden, das Ich mich mit verschwerzung ersthöchstgedachtes meines gnedigisten Herrn Gnaden vnnd befürderung zu andern fürnemben diennsten so Ich gewiβ zuerwarten gehabt, alhero vnnd in Eur für. Dhr. Diennst begeben, darinen Ich mich neben allerhanndt andern Instrumenten nit allein solche ganze Zeit vber für ein Cornetisten, welches die beschwerlichist vnnd starkhiste Profession ist, in dero Erzherzoglichen Camer vnnd Capellen nach bestem meinem vermögen gehorsamist vnnd treülich gebrauchen lassen, sondern Ich hab ferer auch die ersten sechs Jar sowoll selbst aigner Persohn für ein Trometer gedient alβ auch auβ beuelch dero gewesten Obristen Stallmaisters Herrn von Herberstain Eur. für. Dhr. Erste hoffTrometer zu den ordenlichen Sonati vnnd Hoffblasen nit mit geringer müehe vnnd Arbeith abgerichtet. Uber das Ich neben disen schwern diennstsverrichtungen souill Jar vber alles jenigs, was Eur. Für. Dhr. mir zu Componirn gnäd[ig]st anbeuolchen, nach eüsseristen meinem Vermügen, Crafft vnnd bester vcrmögenheit gehorsamist zu werkh gezogen. Alβ dan derselben gnedigist nit vnbewuβt das Ich neben einer nit geringen menge der Moteten, item der grossen vvnd kleinen Magnificat vnnd Messen, die lamentationes mit zwelff Stimmen widerumben das Miserere mit zwainzigen zusamen gebracht vnnd Componirt. Was für merkhliche groβe müehe, arbeith, nachsünnen vnnd Zeit ich nun darbey anwenden müessen, das laβ Eur. Für. Dhr. Ich g[ne]di[gi]st ermessen vnd mag mit dero gnedigisten erlaubnuβ woll melden, das dergleichen weder bey Eur Für. Dhr. noch dero geliebtisten Herrn vattern höchstseeligisten Andechtnuβ Regierungs Zeiten von keinem Capelmaister tails auch sonsten noch von keinem Autore beschehen oder vnndterfangen worden. Wan aber gnedigister Herr vnnd Landtsfürst Ich durch ermelte vnd langwirige groβe vnd stätte Studia vnnd arbeit in solliche grosse Schwechung vnnd blödigkheit meines Kophsgesichts auch ander empfündtlicher leibs schwachheiten geraten, das mir dergleichen arbeit ferer zuerschwingen je einmall vnmüglich fallen will; vnnd Ich sonderlich bey meinem herzue ruckhenden alter hierdurch an meiner Profession des Corneten aufs höchste vernachteilt vnnd in schaden gebracht wurde, benebens aber ander befürderung (die Ich bey obhöchstgedachten meinem gnedi[gi]sten herrn in alweeg zuerwartten gehabt hette) halben ainige Hoffnung nicht haben kan, hergegen aber in gehorsamist berirten meinen langwierigen vnd strengen diensten vnnd bey solcher beschaffenheit der bezallung nit allein nichts ersparn, noch für mich könden bringen, sondern auch noch das Jenig, was ich mit Knaben lernen verdient vnnd vber 1000 fl. belaufft darzue einbiessen vnnd hergegen mir angedeutte meine Compositiones sachen Eur Für. Dhr. dern Ich doch kein ainige Ergözlichkheit empfangen, auf Eur. Für. Dhr. verpott bey andern fürsten vnnd Potentaten im wenigesten nit zu nuz machen dörffen. Dannenhero vnd bey so Teuren Zeiten Ich vber die 500 fl. in schulden geraten. Alβ gelangt an Eur. Für. Dhr. mein vnndterthenig vnd gehorsamistes anlangen vnd bitten: die geruehen solches alles gnedigist vnnd vätterlich zu beherzigen vnnd mir darauff zu keinen vngnaden zu uermerkhen, das dieselb ich hiemit vnndterthenigist Ersuchen, Sy wollen auch meiner vnnd lieben Kinderlein nuz, fromben, gesundt vnnd befürderung anderwerts besser nach zu sezen meines diennsts mit Gn[aden] entlassen, wie auch dero hochberüembten österreichischen milde nach mit ainer solchen abferttigung gnedigist bedenkhen, das ich mich nit allein gedachts meines Schuldenlasts entledigen, sonder auch dero miltreichisten gnädigister Ergözung berirter meiner souil Järiger müehesamben

verrichtungen vnndtertheniggist zuerfreyen vnd zu riemen haben möge. ... gehorsamist *Georg Poss.*

Report of the Hofbuchhaltung:

Georg Poss Instrumentist ist A[nn]o [15]98 angetretten [Actually as HK 1597-XI-15 shows, Poss had already taken over his duties in 1597]. Monatlich aus dem Pfennigambt 18 fl.

A[nn]o 1607 ist dem *Widmanstetter* puechtruekhern alhie von seinetwegen per druckherei bezalt worden ... 400 fl.

Request granted:

Ferdinand. — Wir haben *Georg Possen* Instrumentisten, bey vnserer Capelln 600 fl. gnad vnd dis beuorab wegen seines erzaigenden vleisses bewilligt ... Gräz, den 7. Julij 1612.

53. HK 1616-II-42

Georg Poss to Archduke Ferdinand.

Durchleichtigister Erzherzog ... Seyttemal ich mich aus göttlichen willen vnd Eur Frl. Drl. gnedigisten vorwissen vnd willen mit der edlen vnd ehrntugenthafften Jungfrawen Clara, des edlen vnd vesten Herrn *Vlrichen Empell,* deroselben geliebsten Herrn Bruedern, Erzherzogen Leopoldi zu Österreich etc. Rath dan Eur Frl. Drl. würklichen Dienner in Reiflingen ehelich erzeugten Tochter bis aufs Priesters handt ehelichen versprochen, vnd den hochzeitlichen Ehrn vnd Freyden Tag auf den neünten eingehundes Monats Februarij zuhalten angestellt, So bitt Eur Frl. Drl. ich ... Sy wollen mir als Iren alten gehorsamisten Dienner dise erzherzogliche gnad erzaigen, wo nicht mit persöndlicher gegenwurth, so doch durch dero Abgesandten gnedigist darzue zuerscheinnen vnd dises christlichs Ehrnwerkh gnedigist helffen compliern ... Eur Für: Dur: vndterthai[nigister] vnd gehorsamister *Georg Poss.*

Request granted:

Pfennigmaister solle *Georgen Possen* 24 fl. hochzeitehrung geben. Ferdinand. — Vnser ... befelch ist hiemit, du wellest vnserm HofCapellMaister *Joann Priuli* als den wir auf *Georgen Possen* vnsers HofMusici auf den 8. [sic] dises Monats Februari angestelten Hochzeitt zum gesandten verordnet ein trinkhgeschirr von 24 fl. werdt ihme Possen vnsertwegen zueuerehren zuestellen ... 7. Febr. [1]616.

54. HK 1618-II-100

Georg Poss to King Ferdinand.

An die Khönigl. May. zu Behemb, Herrn Herrn Ferdinanden Erzherzogen zu Österreich ... Nachdem von Eur khöniglichen May. gehaimen Rath vnd Ob. Hoffmaister Herrn von Eggenperg mier im Namen deroselben genedigist angezaigt worden, nemblichen, das mich dieselben Ihrem geliebten Herrn Bruedern Erzherzogen Carl, Bischouen zu Breβla vnd Brixen auf bit vnd anhaltung desselben zu einem Capellmeister genedigist zuegesagt vnd versprochen vnd mich derowegen mit genaden meines dienst allergenedigist entlassen, auch von Irer Für. Dur. vor wenig tägen schrifftlichen beuelch empfangen, das Ich mich auf Dominicam passionis aldortten zu seinen diensten gehorsamist einstellen solle, Und dieweillen Ich solichen dienst nie gesuecht oder begert vnd Eur Khönigl. May. aber soliches mier mehrer ersprieβlich vnd befürderlich zu sein allergenedigist vermeinen, so erkhenne ich mich nicht allein in diesem, sondern in mehrern, was dieselbe mit mier genedigist verschaffen, schuldig vnd ganz vndterthenigist zu gehorsamen. Wann nun aber deroselben Ich in die Einundzwainzig Jahr, verhoffentlich threulichistes vleiβ ohne einige Clag in deroselben Khönigelichen

Camer vnd Capellen nicht allein für einen Cornetisten vnd Instrumentisten, sondern die ersten sechs Jahr auch für einen Hoff: vnd Veldt Trometter, sowol auch aus beuelch Eur Khönigl. May. derselben Zeit gewesten Ob: Stallmeister aniezo aber Hoffmarschalck Herrn Bernhardin von Herberstain, die ersten Trometter zu den ordenlichen Sonaten vnd Hoffblasen nicht mit schlechter müehe, daruon noch etliche im Leben, abrichten müessen, sondern auch vber das noch neben solichen schwärn dienstsverrichtungen siebenzechen ganzer Jahr mit dem Componiern, was dieselbe mier persönlich oder durch andere allergenedigist beuelchen lassen, nicht mit khlainer müehe, arbeit vnd khopfbrechung, so sonsten von kheinem beschehen, zugeschwaigen der groβen vilfeltigen schwärn Raisen so ich mit deroselben in meinen langwierigen diensten, auch nicht mit khlainen schaden vnd merkhlichen groβen Vncosten verrichten müessen, Wie mier dann wegen dessen vor drithalb Jaren von deroselben durch den Herrn von Eggenperg ein sonderbare gnad zugesagt worden, ganz gehorsamist gedient, Also gelangt demnach an Eur Königl. May. mein ... bitten ... mich mit einer solichen Abfertigung ... zu begaben, damit ich mich meiner an Eur Künigl. May. Hoff Einundzwainzigisten järigen gehorsamisten diensten in meinen herzue ruckheten vnd geschwechten Alter nicht allein zuerfreüen, sondern auch derselben zutrösten vnd zurüemen hab ... gehorsamister *Georg Poss.*

Report of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Giovanni Priuli.

Veduta io la supplica del S[igno]r *Giorgio Poss,* instromentista, mandata mi da V. S. Ill.ma per mio parere; dico pero che hauendo lui hauuta licenza di andar a seruire il Ser.mo Arciduca Carlo, da quello ricercato et hauendo questo virtuoso per spatio di molti anni seruito diligentemente in molte cose nella Musica et capella di sua Maestà; parmi esser degno di qualche buona sua gratia. Di V. S. Ill.ma Humiliss.o: seruitore *Gio[vanni] Priuli.*

Request granted:

Ferdinandt. Demnach wir vnserm bisher gewesten Hof Musico und auch getreuen lieben *Georgen Poss* seines diensts aniezo mit gnaden erlassen, Ihme auch zur gehorsamist gebetnen gnad vnd abfertigung 600 fl. genedigist bewilligt ... Gräz, am 21. Februarij 1618.

55. HK 1618-II-94

The passport of Georg Poss for his voyage to Neisse (Silesia).

Paβbrief auf *Georgen Possen* per 2 Wagen schwär nach Schlesien. — Wir Ferdinand embieten N. allen ... Obrigkeiten ... diser vnser Paβbrief fürkhombt vnser gnad vnd geben Euch genediglich zuuernemben. Nachdem vnser gewester Hof Musicus vnd getreuer lieber *Georg Poss* seinen Abzug von hinnen in die Schlesien nach der Neiβe zunemben vnd zwo Wagen schwär allerlei Varnus mit fort zu bringen vorhabens, Euch alle obgemelte hiemit gnädigst ersuechent, den vnsern aber ernstlich beuelhendt, das Ir gedachten Possen mit gueter zwo Wagen schwar Varnus allerdings frey vnd vngehindert ohne abfordens ainicher Mauth oder Aufschlagsgebür ... durchpassieren lassen wöllet. Gräz, den 23. Febr. 1618.

56. HK 1637-IX-133

Report of the Graz Hofbuchhalter W. Frelacher about the court debt to Georg Poss.

Hochpuechhalterischer bericht die Closter Frauen St. Clara ordens zu Gräz p[er] verarrestierung 546 fl. 30 Kr. von *Georgen Poss* herrüerende Hofschuldenpost be[treffend].

Hochlöb. I[nner] Ö[sterreichische] HofCamer. Hoch vnd wolgeborne, auch Wol

Edl gestrenng gn[ädig] vnd geb[ietende] Herrn. Zu wintschen währe daß den Closterfrauen Sant Clara ordens Iro von *Georgen Poss* herrierende 546 fl. 30 Kr. in Arrest genumben werden kunten, vmb das man aber bey der Puechhalterey alda khain Wissenschaft hat, was diser Poss für ain Anforderung bey Hoff hat, dergleichen Arrest auch nur von der hochlöbl. I. Ö. Regierung durch Compaß beschehen vnd iustificierdt werden, demnach werden ermelte Closterfrauen, erstlich das Capital, worauf dises Arrest zuschlagen begert wiert, zu nomminiern vnd die Ordnung so dann firzukhern wissen, disen nach werden merermelte Closterfrauen zuuor beschaiden sein, dero ich mich gehor. beuelchen thue. Euer Gn[aden] ... gehorsamber Wolff Frelacher [Hofbuchhalter]. Disemnach sein die Suppl[icanten] verbschaiden worden. Den 25.7 [Septem]bris [1]637.

PRIULI, Giovanni

cf. Antonio Vigasi No. 76

57. HK 1617-VII-52

Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.

... denen Hof Musicis zu handen des *Johann Priuli* Capellmaisters 200 fl. recompens oder lifergelt wegen der Pragerischen Rais ...

58. HK 1617-XII-139

The Graz Hofkapellmeister Giovanni Priuli to King Ferdinand.

Si degni V. S. Ill.ma di gratiosamente ordinare che fossero pagate i denari dell' ordinario quartale per tre putti di capella che sono statti nel viaggio ultimo di Boemia et altri lochi, ouero che mi fossero pagati 35 fiorini quali p[er] il bisogno loro io hó spesi ... Di V. S. Ill.ma seruitore aff.mo *Gio[vanni] Priuli* Mastro di Capella.

Request granted:

Pfennigmaister solle *Hans Priuli* Capellmaistern 35 fl., so Er wegen dreyer Capellkhnaben auf der Pragerischen Rais spendiert, widerumben erstatten. Graz den 30. Decembris 1617.

59. HK 1620-V-5

Emperor Ferdinand II. to the Court Chamber.

... Ire Kay[serliche] May[estät] haben ... auf dero Hofmusikhen ... sich dahin ... resoluiert, daß hinfüro als lang diser (Behaimische) Krieg vnd vnrueh wehret, v̈ber die gewehnliche besoldung dero Hof Cappelmaister *Johann Priuli* monatlich 10 fl., dero Hof Organisten *Johann Valentini* 7 fl. vnd denen v̈brigen Musicis samentlich iedem 5 fl. ... zuebueß ... bezahlt werde ... 4. Mai A[nno] [1]620.

RAUSCH, Paul

60. HK 1618-II-121

Georg Poss to King Ferdinand.

Durchleichtigister großmechtigister Khünig ... Nachdem Eur kh[üniglichen] M[ajestä]t gehaimer RathCamerer vnd Ob. Hoffmeister Herr von Eggenperg mit Eur. khün. Mt. Capellmeister Herrn [Giovanni] *Priuli* wegen meines Stieff-Sohns geredt, *Herr Priuli* aber seiner schwären diensten vnd geringen Haushaben halber mit mehrern leuten zu beladen sich dessen zum höchsten entschuldigt, was aber die Lernung wegen, Eur Khün. Mt. er sambt dem Herrn [*Giovanni*] *Samsoni,* sich alle Tag ein Stundt gehorsamist vnd ganz willig erboten, dieweiln aber anderwo ein glegenheit, damit er sein Kost, vnterhaltung vnd Ruhe zum Studirn

haben möcht mir vnmüglichen zu finden, So gelangt an Eur Khün. Mt. mein ... bitten, damit er sein gelegenheit zum Studirn desto rühriger anschicken, Eur Khün. Mt. auch auf allen einfallenden khünftigen Raisen müglichistes vleiß dienen khünne, die geruhen Ihme auf seine monatlichen zehen gulden noch fünfe zur besserung ... wiederfahren zu lassen ... Eur Khün. Mt. vnterthenigist: vnd gehorsamister *Georg Poß*.
Request granted:
Ferdinand. — Wir haben vnsers gewesten hofInstrumentisten Georgen *Possens* StieffSohn mit Namen *Pauln Rauschen* sein bisher monatlich gehabte 10 fl. besoldung anjezo noch mit 5 fl. ... verbessert ... Gräz, den 28. Feb. 1618.

61. HK 1624-XI-33
The Vienne Court Instrumentist Paul Rausch to Emperor Ferdinand II.
Euer Khay: May: werden ... allerg[nädig]st zu uernemben haben, was massen sie meinen StiefVattern *Georg Poss,* als er seines diensts endtlassen worden, abgefertigt haben, welche Abfertigung er mir an meinen Patrimonio einzunemben vbergeben. Weil dan solcher CapitalSumma sambt dem mier von Euer Khay. May: versprochenen Interesse auf iezt einfallenden Winter ... ich höchst betürftig, also langet an Eure Khay: May: mein ... Suppliciern, die geruehen mir ... das schon verfloßne Interesse erfolgen zu lassen ... vnd daß mir das gewohnliche Interesse jährlich geraicht werde ... anzuschaffen ... *Paull Rausch.*
Request granted:
HoffPfennigmaister solle die Georg *Possische* 600 fl. anyezo Pauln *Rausch* sambt dem bishero dauon verfallnen Interessen guetmachen. 20. Novembris A° [1]624.

RIZZIO, Michelangelo

62. HK 1613-XII-10
Michelangelo Rizzio to Archduke Ferdinand.
Al Ser.^{mo} Prencipe l'Arciduca Ferdinando d'Austria. Memoriale per li denari esbasar a Michel Angelo. Si suplica V. A. Ser.^{ma} a uoler comandare, che quanto prima signo pagati in Venetia al Francisci ongheri 90 che esborsi à *Michel Angelo* Bassista, quall sene uiene al seruitio di V. A. le 25 fiorini al secretario Nicolo Rossi, che pur ho esborsato al sudetto Michel Angelo per essergli mancato il denaro.
Request granted:
Wir beuelchen dir hiemit, ... das du dem spanischen Secretari zu Venedig Nicolausen Rosso von vnseres Musico *Michaelln Angelo* wegen 25 fl. vermitls deiner Correspondenten alda zu Venedig ohne Verzug richtigmachen lassen wöllest ... Neustatt den 10. December 1613.

63. HK 1614-III-15
Ser.^{mo} Prencipe. Si suplica V. A. Ser.^{ma} à comandare, che subito sijno pagati in Venetia al Secretario Rossi 90 ongheri e 25 fiorini, che fur[o]no dati à *Michel Angelo* Musico di V. A. et anco li 24 fiorini per le cinque dozene di para de guana per la persona di V. S. A. perche se bene sono molte setimane che l'A. V. comando, che fossero pagati li sudeti denari non è peso sin hora stato esequito.
Request granted:
Carl Albertinell solle dem Nicolo Rossi (khaiserlichen Scretario zu Venedig) erstlich 90 gold ducaten, item 25 fl. wegen des *Michael Angelo* vnd absonderlich 24 fl. wegen vberschikhter handtschuech bezallen ... Neustatt, am 5. Märtij 1614.

64. HK 1616-I-74

Pfennigmaister solle *Michaeln Angelo Rizzi* hofmusico ain hochzeit Present von 20 fl. dargeben.

65. HK 1619-II-59

Michelangelo Rizzio to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Sacra Regia M.ta — Sapendo io quanto la S. M.ta V.ra sij molestata dalla maggior parte di noi musici, non uoleuo, ne doueuo prender ardire di far'io l'istesso, ma confidato nell' immensa sua clemenza, alla quale è poca quella molestia, che da ogn' uno é riputata per grande, vengo humilissimam.te à narrarli i miei graui bisogni causati nel tempo della seruitu mia, cosi auanti, ch'io prendessi moglie, come (et molto piu) dopoi per hauermi conuenuto continuamente far due spese, si che per non hauer uoluto disturbare la S. M. V. mi è accresciuta una gran piaga di molti debiti, quali senza la medicina della benigna sua gratia, è impossibile, che possi sanarsi et liberarmi da tanti trauagli; perciò come infermo riccorro à quella . . . supplicandola, che si compiacesse concedermi gratia di un passaporto di stara mille di formento, ouero il dinaro, come meglio piacesse alla S. M.ta V.ra, accio possia liberarmi da tanti debiti . . . *Michel' Angelo Rizzio.*

Request granted:

Ferdinand. Paβbrief . . . (vnserm HofMusico) *Michael Angelo Rizzio* p[er] 500 Stär getraidt. Gräz, den 21. Feber 1619.

66. HK 1620-VI-63

An den Pfennigmaister. Des *Michael Angelo Rizzio* hofMusico 530 fl. aus der Oxengebür zur gnad bewilligt worden.

67. HK 1620-X-64

Michelangelo Rizzio to Emperor Ferdinand II.

E gia due mesi che la S.C.M.V. tanto benignamente sé compiaccuta concedermi gratia d'un passaporto di duecento Manzi accìo con l'utile di quelle io potessi soccorrere a le mie graui necessità p[er] il ch[e] con perpetuo obligo di seruitù non mancató di sempre pregarli da Dio N. S. longa prosperità et feliciss.mo Impero. Et perche io ho con ogni diligenza fatto procurare apresso gl'heredi del S.r Albertinelli a Graz d'esser satisfatto di questa gratia . . . *Michel Angelo Rizzio.*

Request granted:

Ferdinand. — Lieber Scheitt. Inmassen Euch vorhero bewust, das meinem Hof Musico *Michaeln Angelo Rizzio* ain gnad von 200 Ochsen Mautgebür gnedigist bewilligt vnd derentwillen die gebreuchigen Verordnungen an Hofpfennigmaister vnd die Albertinelischen Erben ausfertigen lassen. Also vnd weilen der Supplicant nit zugleich alhie bey seinem dienst sein vnd aldorten die bezallung sollicitiern khan, ist mein ganz genedigister beuelch hiemit, Ir wellet hierauf solche fürsehung thuen, damit gedachtem *Rizzio* zu seiner hohen dürfftigkhait die gebür hieuorangeschafftermaβen . . . mit eheister müglighkhait . . . bezalt werde. Wien, 6. Octobris 1620.

SANSONI, Giovanni

68. HK 1619-II-29

Giovanni Sansoni to Ferdinand II.

Poiche piace a Dio Nostro Sig[no]re, che l'affetto mio cosi grande uerso la signora *Susanna Löibnegh* habbi quella rissolutione ch'i hò sempre bramata con il mezo del singolar fauore di V. R. M. vergo a quella con questa mia humiliss-

[im]a supplica, non solo a significarli gl'infiniti oblighi miei, et la perpetua già dedicata mia seruitù, a quali non è possibile che possi aggiungere, ma desideroso con l'animo d'acrescare l'una et gl'altri, ardisco di chiederli noua gratia assìcurandomi che questa seconda sarà tenuta dalla Sacra M. V. per consequenza della prima, et che non isdegnerà (si come benignamente m'hà fatto l'una) di concedermi l'altra. Dirò dunque riuerentemente che dal tempo ch'io seruo la Sacra M. S. (che sono cinqu'anni in circa) si per essere io statto due uolte in Italia, come per hauer spesso ancora viagiato con la S. M.V. non mi trouo assolutamente in auanzo d'un minimo denaro; ... Della Sacra Regia Maestà Vostrà perpetuo et humiliss[im]o seruitore *Giovanni Sansoni Musico Cornetista.*
Request granted:
Ferdinand. — Wir haben vnserm hofmusico *Hansen Sansoni* auf sein vnderthänigstes Suplicieren vnd bitten vnd in g[nädig]ster erwegung seiner vns bishero treüghorsamist erwisnen Dienste, zue ainer gnad 800 fl. gnädigst verwilligt... 28. Februarij [1]619. In simili dem *Hyppolito Bonnane* 300 fl. mit des amtsgelegenheit nach vnd nach zuebezahlen. Item dem *Horatio Sardena* 50 fl. Steür zue der vorhabenden Wallfart nach Loreto vnd Rom.

69. HK 1619-III-47
Giovanni Sansoni to Ferdinand II.
Sacra Regia Maestà. Vengono sempre a tempo le gratie, che ci fà il s[ign]or Dio e se purtardando alcuna uolta e per darcile più cumulate e con' aggionta di miglior bone. Questo é auaduto à me, che doppo longhi e longhi giri hà piaciuto al S[igno]r Dio et alla M. V. gratiarmi, ch'io possi hauer per moglie la sig[nor]a *Susanna Loibnec.* Veramente hò riceuuto dalla M[aes]tà sua gratia tanto segnalata, che non pensarò mai ad'altro, che ad'hauerne qualche parte di merito, ingegnandomi di ser[eni]tà con tutta quella fede e dèuotione d'animo che ricerca la qualità del fauore e che conuienne à tanto mio debito. Resta solo cho per far la gratia compita, la M[aes]tà V. resta seruita di esser rinuitata alle mie nozze, che saranno alli 16. Aprile venturo, sperando nella benignità sua, che aggradira et accettarà l'humiliss[i]mo mio inuitto, come che deuotissimam[en]te la suplico... Di V. S. R. M[aes]tà deuotiss[i]mo et fedeliss[i]mo ser[vito]re *Giouanni Sansoni Musico Cornetista.*
Request granted:
Getreuer lieber. Wir haben vnserm Hofmusico *Johan Samson* zu seiner auf den 16. ieztkhomenden Monats Aprilis angestelten Hochzeit ein Trinckhgeschirr zum praesent in 30 fl. werth vnd vnserm Capellmaister vnd auch getreuen lieben *Johan Priuli* zum gesandten genedigist bewilligt vnd beuelchen dir hiemit in gnaden, du wellest Ihme Capelmaister angeregtes Trinckhgeschirr zu verstandenem ende alsbaldt zuestellen... Wien am 25. Märtij 1619.

69a. Vienne, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Adelsarchiv
Giovanni Sansoni to Ferdinand II.
Fin all'hora quando hebbi gratiosa licenza di prender moglie sotto il feliciss[im]o patrocinio di V. Maestà supplicai humiliss[imamen]te per hauer gratia insieme d'una nobilitatione nella persona mia et heredi, la quale si per li tempi corsi pieni di negotij, viaggi, et altri rispetti che m'hanno ritenuto dal dar molestia alla S.C.M.V., resto così a dietro. Hora mò trouandomi a così pronta occasione sin hora da me aspettata per essere alla Dieta Imperiale hò voluto riuerentemente rinouare la prima mia humilissima dimanda, co'l supplicarla che si compiaccia gratiarmi della nobiltà.... con l'arma infrascritta; et perche mi fù lasciata da

miei antenati et maggiori la presente mia arma di molti anni vecchia, supplico non dimeno la S.C.M. a farmi gratia di accrescimento di essa nel modo che dal altra qui occlusa appare; et se ben io non hò altro merito appresso la S.C.M.V. che la debol mia seruitù, tutta uolta essendo quella appoggiata all'infinita sua benignità mi fà prender ardire di supplicarla che facendomi la gratia, fosse fatto il priuileggio nella più ampla et honorata forma, che si usi di fare a un deuotiss-[im]o suo seruitore... Giouanni Sansoni musico cornetista.

Request granted: patent of nobility:

Ferdinandus. — Fideli nobis dilecto Joanni Sansoni chori nostri Caesarei Musico gratiam nostram imp[eria]lem et omne bonum etsi virtus etc. Postquam itaque intelligimus Joannes Sansoni, honestis te parentibus prognatum qui virtutis studia assidue sectati, laudem sibi decusque familiae conciliarint et tibi aliisque posteris suis praeclarum, quod imitarentur, exemplum reliquerint. Cui sedule naviterque insistens ex quo tempore ab annis videlicet decem ob raram & excellentem Musices peritiam in obsequia nostra adscitus, eam semper promptitudinem, modestiam, integritatem et indefessam seruiendi studium domi forisque, quaecumque in imp[eri]o regnisque & provinciis nostris hereditatisque itinerandi se occasiones obtulerint, reipsa declararis atque etiam nunc haud minus luculenter testificaris ut ex choro n[ost]ro symphoniaco tum fidibus tum cornicinio in quorum utroque praecellis magno frequenter ornamento fueris, eoque singulatim tibi gratiam nostram devinxeris quia clementer erga te propensi, quanti nobilissimam artem Musices et in ea vires praestantes constituimes nomen, statum, conditionem atque familiam tuam velut pecculiari radio e thesauris beneficentiae nostrae Imp[eria]li liberaliter diffuso illustrandam censuismus, quod tibi quidem perhonorificum et velut perenne servitutis tuae testimonium ad seram posteritatis memoriam propagabitur. Quapropter ex certa scientia a[nim]o bene deliberato, sano et maturo... consilio ac de Caes[ar]ea pietatis n[ostr]ae plenitudine tu... Joannem Sansoni omnesque etc ... [follows a description of the arms] Ratisbonae die quinta mensis Januarii Anno D[omi]ni 1623.

SARDENA, Orazio

cf. Baldassare Cornazzani, No. 24, 27.

VALENTINI, Giovanni

70. HK 1614-V-37

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.

Ferdinand. — Getreuer lieber. Wier haben vnsern neuangenombnen Camerorganisten aus Pollen *Johan Vallentin* ainhundertfünffzig gulden aufzuggelt genedigist verwilligt. Die wollest demselben alsbalden nach dises vernembung zuestellen... Wienn, den 27. May A° 1614.

71. HK 1614-X-22

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister.

Ferdinand. — Wir haben vnserm hofOrganisten *Johann Vallentin* zu ainer gnad ainen Paβbrief auf 1000 Stär geträdt ausser Landts zuuerfüern, g[nädig]ist bewilligt... Gräz, den lezten Octobris 1614.

72. HK 1618-II-89 (Exped.)

Paβbrief auf *Johann Vallentin* p[er] 1000 Stär waizen, so Ime zur Gnad bewilligt worden. Februar 1618. [The petition of Valentini is missing].

73. HK 1620-IX-63 (Exped.)

Pfennigmaister solle dem *Giouan Valentinus* aus dem Oxen Appaldt 500 fl. Gnad bezallen. November 1620. [The petition of Valentini is missing].

VICTORIA, Tomàs Luis de

74. HK 1602-VIII-6

Tomàs Luis de Victoria to Archduke Ferdinand.

Con vn Criado de la Reyna n[uest]ra s[eñor]a embie a v[uestra] Alteza diez libros de musica y entre otras cosas q[ue] en ellos havia era vna misa de la batalla de que el Rey n[uest]ro s[eño]r gusto mucho. Supp[li]co a v[uestra] Alteza se sirua hacerme alguna m[erce]d, Para aiuda el gasto de la impresion y Para socorrer a un hermano q[ue] a un año q[ue] esta en la carzel Preso, q[ue] la m[erce]d q[ue] v[uestra] Alteza me hiciere seruire yo toda mi uida, a v[uestra] Alteza se la Prospere n[uest]ro s[eño]r. Por muchos años madrid y abril 16 de 1602. *Thome de Victoria,* capellan de la enperatriz.

[*Postscript*]: La m[erce]d q[ue] v[uestra] Alt[ez]a me hiciere podra venir por orden del embax[ad]or de esp[añ]a de v[uestra] Alt[ez]a o por el de Roma dandola a *fran[cis]co de Soto* capellan y cantor de su S[anctidad].

Opinion of the Graz Hofkapellmeister Pietro Antonio Bianco about the compositions of Tomàs Luis de Victoria.

Durchleichtigister Erzherzorg ... *Thoma de Victoria* bitt E. Frl. Drl. mit hieringelegten Supplicieren, vmb ein Verehrung damit Er den Drukh der E. Frl. Drl. verehrten vndt gemachten stukh bezallen khönne, hierauf bericht dieselb Ich in gehorsamb, daß diser von menigkhlichen für einen fürnemben vndt berüembten Singer gehalten würdt, deme E. Frl. Drl. so woll wegen der deroselben verehrter Composition, als daß er auch bey der verwittibten Römischen Khayserin für einen CapelMaister dienet, woll hundert Cronen verehren mügen lassen, fürnemblichen weillen taussendt Real, so gleich hundert Cronen machen, bey Inen für ein sondere vnndt ansehenliche Verehrung geschäzt vndt gehalten würdt. Disem würdt aber E. Frl. Drl. ohne mein massen geben gnädigist woll zuthuen wissen ...

Pier' Ant[oni]o Bianco.

Request granted:

Ferdinand. — Vmb das vns ... der verwittibten Römischen Kaiserin Capelmaister in Hispanien *Thomas de Victoria* etliche Gesang vnd Compositiones gehorsamist verehrt vnd dabei vmb ergezlichkeit der bezalten Vncosten der Trukherey gebetten, haben wir derwegen zu solcher seiner ergezlichkeit vnd aus gnaden ainhundert Cronen ... verordnen wöllen ... Graz den 10. Augusti a[nn]o [1]602.

VIGASI, Antonio e Giacomo

75. HK 1612-V-16

The Graz and later Vienna Court Instrumentist Giacomo Vigasi to Archduke Ferdinand.

Gnedigister Fürst und Herr; zu Euer Fur. Dt. Cappellen diene Ich nun für ainen Instrumentisten mit monatlichen 8 fl. vndterhaltung in das sechste Jar ...

Jacomo Vigasi.

Request granted:

Pfeningmaister solle Jacoben Vigasi 100 fl. gnad raichen. Gräz den 8. May A° 1612.

76. HK 1620-X-61

The Graz and later Vienna Court Instrumentist Antonio Vigasi to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Sono alcune settimane, che non ritrouando io in loco alcuno la mia prima supp.ca, la quale humilm.te presentai a V.ra Ces. M.ta chiedendo in quella con ogni riuerenza qualche gratiosa remuneratione per le mie quotidiane fatiche et studij usati nell' insegnare al Giouine *Ertmon* di Violino, come auanti 2 anni et 6 mesi à Posonia da V. S. M.ta per il Sig.r *Priuli* mi fù commesso, et dall' hora in qua sempre da me con ogni diligenza essequito. Hora per il gran bisogno, nel quale mi ritrouo si per hauermi Dio accresciuto la famiglia con un nuouo figliolo, come anco essendo molto mal prouisto per questo inuerno ... *Antonio Vigasi.*

Request granted:

Pfennigmaister solle *Anthonien Vigasi* 397 fl. 30 Kr. aus der Oxen Appalts gebür, gnad richtig machen. Wien, den 14. October A° 1620.

77. HK 1622-XI-23

HofPfennigMaister solle *Anthonij Vigasij* hinterlassnen dreyen Khindern 300 fl. eruolgen lassen. Wien, 14. Mai 1622.

78. HK 1625-V-41

Giacomo Vigasi to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Sacra Ces[are]a M[aes]tà. La cura tutelare sopra i pupilli di *Antonio* [*Vigasi*] q[uonda]m mio fratello impostami, conforme il gratioso ordine di V. M. Ces-[are]a dopò la morte di q[uonda]m *Ambrosio Bontempo* mio Zio ... mi moue ... à supplicar la M[aes]tà V[ost]rà ... che la Pratia di 600 fiorini benignam[en]te da V. M. donata per li pupilli ... fusse pagata in Gratz, perche iui habitaua ... mi sia rimesso et pagato costi in Vienna ... Di V. M.C. humiliss-[im]o e deuotiss[im]o Ser[vito]re *Jacomo Vigasi.*

Request not granted:

Hofpfennig Maister solle weillandt *Antonij Vigasi* hinterlassen Erben die noch ausstendige 400 fl. eheist [in Graz] eruolgen lassen. 27. Maij A[nn]o [1]625.

79. HK 1620-V-47

Emperor Ferdinand II. to the Hofkammer in Graz.

Lieber Scheidt. Das vnter meiner von Graz alhie erforderten Music etliche, als der *Paull* [*Bosch*] Bassista, *Ferdinand de Vento,* der *Saloman* [*Ferro*], [*Georg*] *Zimmerman* vnd [*Johann*] *Fabritius* wider meinen willen aussen bliben, ist ainig allain aus Irer Armueth vnd Vermangl der Zehrung, hergeuolgt vnd derowegen mein gnedigister beuelch hiemit, Ir wellet obgemelten personen hier-auf alsbaldt die notwendige Zehrung als gewiß verordnen vnd raichen lassen, damit Sy vnuerlangt aldorten aufbrechen, herausraisen vnd sich zu Iren diensten würckhlich einstellen khönnen ... Wien, am 19. May 1620.

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